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12 March 1984

## Near East/South Asia Report

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12 March 1984

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CONTACTS BETWEEN PLO, U.S. DIPLOMATS ALLEGED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic, No 208, 4-10 Feb 84 pp 17-18

[Article by Russell Hawi: "Washington Makes Secret Moves Inside Two Palestinian Fronts; U.S. Ambassadors in Syria, Morocco Conduct Direct Talks with 'Arafat and Dissidents"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has authorized some U.S. diplomats to conduct direct and secret talks with leaders of the PLO. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Joseph Reed, the U.S. ambassador in Rabat, did in fact hold talks with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee. In Damascus, U.S. ambassador Robert Paganelli held talks with Palestinian leaders who dissented from Fatah and are being supported by Syria. At the same time instructions were issued to John Hughes, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department, to deny that these talks did in fact take place.

The aim of these U.S. efforts is to persuade Yasir 'Arafat to cooperate with King Husayn in the initiative to hold talks with Israel based on UN Resolution 242, which stipulates that Israeli troops are to withdraw from territory they occupied in the 1967 war. These U.S. efforts are also being made in an effort to mitigate the opposition of Palestinian dissidents in Damascus to any diplomatic action in which Israel would take part.

Experts at the U.S. State Department are saying that Yasir 'Arafat has given up on most of the dissident leaders, but that he is trying not to lose altogether [the support of] Nayif Hawatimah, who opposes Syria and is the leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine; George Habash, who is the secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine; and also the small Palestinian Communist Party. In the past Hawatimah had held numerous talks with Israeli "doves."

The U.S. administration is hoping that these efforts will revive the Reagan initiative which was announced by the U.S. president on 1 September 1982. The U.S. president called for the creation of a Palestinian national homeland on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; this homeland would be connected with Jordan in a confederation. At the same time it seems that efforts which are being made to solve Lebanon's crisis, which is related to the Palestinian question, are being increasingly thwarted.

## The Agreement Is Deadlocked

Lebanon's minister of foreign affairs, Elie Salem had visited the U.S. ambassador to Beirut last week to inform him that President Amin al-Jumayyil wanted to abrogate or at least suspend action on the Shultz agreement between Israel and Lebanon because Israel had not carried out its promise to withdraw from Lebanese territory. President al-Jumayyil wanted to abrogate the agreement so he can form a coalition with the "opposition government" in East Lebanon. The opposition front is made up of former prime minister Sulayman Franjiyah, Sunni leader Rashid Karami and Druze leader Walid Junblatt. Lebanon's prime minister, Shafiq al-Wazzan, who is a Sunni, stated that in any case there was no hope that Lebanon's parliament would ratify the Shultz agreement between Israel and Lebanon.

The meeting between the U.S. ambassador in Rabat and Yasir 'Arafat took place during the early stages of the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference that was held in Casablanca. Instructions had been issued to Ambassador Joseph Reed to thank Yasir 'Arafat for the services he had offered U.S. officials in Lebanon. Ambassador Reed was asked to thank 'Arafat for the assistance rendered by the PLO in the matter of the U.S. hostages in Iran. These instructions also mentioned that Reed was to encourage 'Arafat to take the initiative to force Israel into talks on the occupied land.

Ambassador Joseph Reed is not a career diplomat, but he is a wealthy businessman and a close friend of President Reagan. He is not like Robert Paganelli, the U.S. ambassador [in Damascus], who spent his entire career with the State Department. Paganelli met in Damascus with Mahmud al-Labadi and a few other dissident Palestinian leaders during Jesse Jackson's mission in that city to secure the approval of Syrian authorities to release the U.S. pilot whose airplane had been shot down by Syrian air defenses.

It seems that during that meeting Paganelli mentioned the fact that the United States regretted the dissidents' opposition to Yasir 'Arafat's reference to a diplomatic solution. Paganelli also thanked al-Labadi for the PLO's past assistance, and he referred specifically to the protection that was provided by the PLO to about 200 U.S. dependents while they were being evacuated from Beirut in the early stages of Lebanon's civil war. Paganelli also referred to "the protection" that was subsequently offered by the PLO to the U.S. Embassy in Beirut.

The U.S. ambassador also thanked al-Labadi for his personal assistance and for the assistance of Yasir 'Arafat and a few other Palestinian leaders in the matter of the U.S. hostages in Iran. In the early stages of that crisis President Carter had asked Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general to go to Tehran to try to negotiate the release of the U.S. diplomats. Although Clark was known for being liberal and for defending the Palestinian cause, he had to wait in Turkey for permission from the Khomeyni regime allowing an airplane belonging to the U.S. administration to land in Tehran. After that Carter asked him to return to the United States because it seemed that the PLO delegation that was sent by Yasir 'Arafat to Tehran had a greater chance for success. That delegation was headed by Archbishop Capucci, pastor of the Catholic Church in Jerusalem. Archbishop Capucci was expelled by Israel, and he is now living in the Vatican.

## Capucci's Role

However, when Capucci asked Washington through the PLO office in Beirut for its instructions regarding the negotiations, officials in the U.S. State Department who support Israel persuaded Carter not to give the delegation that Capucci was heading any official character. Washington informed Capucci that his mission had to be a personal one. Therefore, 'Arafat asked him to return.

Early in 1980 Jackie Jackson, the wife of Reverend Jesse Jackson went to Beirut and requested the assistance of the PLO in securing the release of black and female hostages who were being held in Tehran. She said that blacks were treated unfairly and that women had no real power in the United States. [She argued that] the Iranian government should not hold blacks or women responsible for the policy of the U.S. government.

Al-Labadi agreed to the idea and persuaded Yasir 'Arafat to make an effort to carry it out. Blacks and female hostages were in fact released. It seemed at that time that the release of those hostages in particular was a "capricious" and an unjustifiable measure which the regime in Iran had taken. At that time also the correspondent of AL-MAJALLAH asked at a press conference held in the U.S. State Department whether or not the State Department was satisfied with the fact that some members of the embassy had gone along with measures to secure their own release before the release of their colleagues, instead of showing a spirit of loyalty and insisting that all the hostages be released at the same time. The answer to that question was that the U.S. administration agreed with the fact that some hostages accepted their own release.

It seems that all this sudden U.S. gratitude for previous Palestinian services is surfacing now to create a climate of confidence that would help Yasir 'Arafat go to Amman and give King Husayn the authorization to speak in principle on behalf of the Palestinians.

King Husayn says that Resolution 242 implicitly calls upon Israel to return the occupied land to the countries that were administering them originally. This means that the West Bank would be returned to Jordan; the Gaza Strip would be returned to Egypt; and the Golan to Syria. Egypt has announced that it will not assume responsibility for the Palestinian Gaza Strip. However, informed sources are saying that King Husayn suggested that Egypt officially take the Gaza Strip once again and then conduct a referendum to find out whether or not residents want to be joined to the West Bank and whether or not they want to have their independence as a part of Jordan.

King Husayn has indicated that he considers the situation on the West Bank urgent. He said that West Bank residents want to forget their past problems with Jordan in order to get rid of the Israeli occupation. King Husayn also feels that he has to act swiftly to prevent Israeli settlements from spreading and to prevent the possibility that hundreds of thousands of dissatisfied Palestinian refugees would flock to Jordan.

## The Reagan Initiative

The United States feels that it will soon have to prove that it can force Israel

to go to the negotiating table to examine the Reagan initiative that Israel has already rejected.

At the same time the United States is worried about Lebanon's request that it abrogate the Shultz agreement between Lebanon and Israel. Washington thinks that such a measure will make Israel more intransigent than it has been any time in the past. Observers believe that Shultz himself does not wish to see the abrogation of an agreement that he himself mediated and that bears his name. At the same time the U.S. State Department is relieved that the U.S. ambassador in Beirut stated in his report that Lebanon's minister of foreign affairs, Elie Salem did not seem enthusiastic about the message he was bringing from President Amin al-Jumayyil.

President al-Jumayyil had stated in his message, which was relayed by Elie Salem, that that agreement put him in an uncomfortable position similar to that in which Marshall Philippe Petain of France was put in 1940. The Germans had allowed Petain to rule an unoccupied part of France, and Petain had signed under duress an agreement with Germany in his capital, Vichy, even as the German army was occupying a large part of France. As a result of that agreement most French nationalists did not accept Petain as a real leader of the French government.

Washington has no desire to see the Shultz agreement abrogated. The White House is hoping to bring about some superficial reconciliation and peace in Lebanon so that the multi-national force can be withdrawn from that country. This would basically leave matters in the hands of the Lebanese people themselves so they can decide whether or not they want to unify their ranks to force Israel and Syria to withdraw their forces from Lebanon or whether they will continue fighting each other and leave western armies in their present locations.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

KHALIL AL-WAZIR DISCUSSES CURRENT POSITION, FUTURE ACTIONS OF PLO

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 208, 4-10 Feb 84 pp 15-17

[Interview with Khalil al-Wazir, deputy commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution: "Khalil al-Wazir Outlines for AL-MAJALLAH Features of the Stage: Abu Jihad Says, 'Political Solution Is Deadlocked; Armed Struggle is the Principal Way;'" in Amman, date not specified]

[Text] The United States is responsible for bringing the crisis to an impasse; dissidents are out of the picture."

"Our first task is to look for a common denominator with Jordan."

AL-MAJALLAH interviewed Khalil al-Wazir, [alias] Abu Jihad, deputy general commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution. In this interview Abu Jihad spoke about "the search for a common denominator" between the PLO and Jordan. He spoke about armed Palestinian action and the dissidents' movement; about Fatah; and about the Steadfastness Committee and its needs. This interview with Abu Jihad summarizes answers to questions about the present and the future stages. The interview with Khalil al-Wazir, [alias] Abu Jihad follows.

[Question] In the aftermath of the recent Palestinian departure from Tripoli the question of reviving the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue emerges as one of the principal features of Palestinian political action in the next stage. What are the new principles upon which the Jordanian-Palestinian talks will be based to prevent a deadlock as that which was reached in a previous stage?

[Answer] The PLO is moving toward Jordan at this new stage on the basis of a firmly established fact that was emphasized by the Palestinian National Council in these words: "the historical and distinctive relations" between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples. Talks were begun in the previous stage about the nature of these relations, but the talks were sidetracked by the circumstances of that stage. The talks were sidetracked by an investigation into the likely prospects of political action, specifically action which had to do with President Reagan's initiative. Now, however, circumstances are different. Developments that have been occurring in the area have gone beyond any talk about Reagan's initiative, particularly since events proved that the United States cannot play any effective and influential role [in this matter]. Quite the contrary, the U.S. position continued to be totally biased to the Israeli enemy. That bias culminated in the agreement for strategic cooperation between Washington and Tel Aviv.

[Question] What then are the foundations for action in the next stage?

[Answer] The outcome of the upcoming Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue and what will be agreed to during that dialogue as the common denominator will constitute the foundation for anticipated political action. I do not have to say that the foundation for the dialogue and its general climate will be manifested in the resolutions of Arab conferences, and particularly those of the Fes Arab Summit Conference.

[Question] Where does the question of a confederation with Jordan stand on the agenda of the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue?

[Answer] That was one of the questions that was discussed by the Palestinian National Council which met in Algeria. The council approved the confederation as a principle for the nature of the relationship between two independent countries who would come under the umbrella of a confederation. The nature of life that Jordanians and Palestinians have in common is one that has continued and has been established for a long period of time; it is a life whose future survival must be inviolable and invincible. To put it briefly, we must go forth together, and we must look for the future side by side.

[Question] From your point of view what is the real guarantee for the success of this method for a Jordanian-Palestinian rapprochement?

[Answer] Total clarity. This is what we need now more than any time in the past. We have to speak with absolute candor: this is where we are, and this is where Jordan is; these are our circumstances and these are their circumstances. There is nothing that cannot be brought up or discussed.

[Question] Does this mean there is a special idea about the objectives of the dialogue between the two parties?

[Answer] Yes, there is a pre-conceived idea that is being acted upon. There is also a fact that has to determine the course of the dialogue. That fact is the nature of new international conditions that are coming upon the scene in the Middle East. We must realize, for example, the implications of U.S. political action as elections in that country approach. We must also have a sensitive awareness of the nature of the relationship between the United States and Europe and the effect of that relationship on the reality of the Arab-Israeli struggle. Finally, we must consider different international positions, and we must understand those positions, particularly those of the two superpowers. I think--and I think all of us see this clearly--that current international conditions are bringing worldwide action on the Middle East question to a standstill. Therefore, our basic task is to figure out a new course of action and to pave the way for that new course of action despite all the surrounding factors of a standstill.

#### Armed Action Is Continuing

[Question] You are saying a great deal about political action and political activity. Does this mean, quite frankly, that the new principle is to accept the method of political action and abandon that of the armed struggle?

[Answer] Not at all. It is the opposite that is true. We, as the Palestinian



Revolution, believe that our political movement stems from the continuation of the revolutionary and the armed struggle. This is a fact that must not be forgotten, not even for one moment. Let me explain this principal point further and say that the presence of the Palestinian Revolution is always measured by its vitality and its effectiveness on the scene. This means that the impact and the power of this revolution depend upon its contributions and its continuous struggle against the Zionist enemy. The impact and the power of this revolution are felt in the continuous political, military and revolutionary contributions and sacrifices the people are making in the occupied land. Therefore, reinforcing the armed struggle inside our occupied land will always be one of our objectives.

[Question] I hope you will allow us to ask you quite frankly how this is being done when you are so far away.

[Answer] What are you talking about? Wherever our people can be found the ability to take action and to be effective can be found. As I told you what Palestinians say must truly echo an effectiveness that has an impact on the scene and can be used to our advantage against our Zionist enemy. From now on Palestinians must never speak as a solitary voice in the desert receiving no reply but the echo of their own voice in empty space. In other words, Palestinians must speak words that are historically meaningful and memorable. I am saying that military action and the armed struggle constitute the means by which we were transformed from the scattered refugees we were in the past to the human and political power whose voice is being heard [now]. Therefore, our view of political action is quite different from our view of a political solution or a political settlement.

[Question] The statement you made leads us to a question about the general framework which the Liberation Organization is considering with regard to the political treatment of the Palestinian question.

[Answer] It seems that I will begin my answer with another question which goes like this: Can we see prospects for any willingness on the part of other parties to offer a solution to our Palestinian question or an honorable settlement to the predicament of the Palestinian people? The obvious answer is that all doors are shut, and the Arab nation is assuming no responsibilities in that situation. The Arab nation made many concessions through all the initiatives that were made, and it found no one to listen to it or go along with it. It is enough that we ask one question: What is the position of the United States which has a lot to say about the need to reach a peaceful settlement? The answer is this: it is strengthening its support for Israel with whom it signed an agreement for a strategic alliance. And what is Israel's position? The answer is this: more intransigence, aggression and evasiveness, and more support for its offensive military arsenal. The position of one's adversary is thus very important, albeit other international positions that are sympathetic to us and supportive of us are important. On the other side [of the coin] we as Arabs are responsible for the Arab fragmentation that is tipping the scales in favor of the enemy and increasing the odds against any change for a real and just peace. In the absence of a national Arab factor from any action taken to terminate the struggle, the future appears difficult. This is what we must understand before we torment ourselves with the task of devising a peace plan that would be acceptable to our enemies.

[Question] Let me go back once again to Jordan. How do you as the PLO view the return of parliamentary activity in Jordan?

[Answer] The official explanation that was offered by Jordanian circles convinced us that this action was one that would be construed as purely one of Jordan's domestic affairs. The assertions I heard from Prince Hasan and from Mr 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah mean that the resumption of parliamentary life in Jordan does not at all affect the status of the Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We took these Jordanian explanations into consideration in the context of a firmly established fact illustrated in the prolonged historical sacrifices that were made and the Arab and international support that was given, including support from Jordan. All this emphasized the organization's position on all levels.

[Question] Were there communications between Jordan and the PLO before the announcement was made about the restoration of parliamentary life in Jordan?

[Answer] Yes, and we received Jordan's explanations and clarifications before the announcement was made. These were relayed to us through the organization's representative in Amman.

#### The Conferences of Fatah and the National Council

[Question] Our question now has to do with issues of Palestinian domestic action after those of Jordanian-Palestinian action. When will the Fatah conference and the conference of the Palestinian National Council be held?

[Answer] In accordance with a Revolutionary Council decision the Fatah Conference is to be held within a period of no more than 3 months so that full preparations for it can be made. The events of Tripoli hindered all the preparations that had already been made for that conference. As far as the Palestinian National Council is concerned, its regular session is to begin officially this February the 14th. By then 1 year would have gone by since the council's 16th meeting, in accordance with the council's bylaws. After being examined and considered the idea of convening an emergency session before that date was scrapped. Full preparations will be made for regional meetings and secondary conferences on specific issues. Accordingly, it is on that basis that the new conference of the Palestinian National Council will take place.

[Question] In light of Abu 'Ammar's visit to Egypt and his announcement that Jordanian-Palestinian talks would be resumed, and in view of the dissidence in Fatah, what do you think about Mr Yasir 'Arafat's position at the present time?

[Answer] The PLO went through difficult circumstances that surrounded its struggle when Arab parties decided to break up its unity and divest it of its right to have its own national independent decision. The battle of Tripoli was the culmination of that action which dealt a blow to the existence, the unity and the potential of the PLO. This was evident in those attempts that were made to terminate the organization and establish another one in its place. It was evident in attempts that were made to kill the symbol of this organization. It was from that that a heroic steadfastness emerged in opposing the conspiracy in Tripoli; and Abu 'Ammar left Lebanese territory because of an unfair decision.

Those people are fooling themselves if they believe that this attempt of theirs is undermining the organization. The power of the organization comes from the power of its people. These are the people who took a heroic stance in the occupied land, challenging the occupation, expressing their opinion and rallying around the PLO and its leader and symbol, Brother Abu 'Ammar. The PLO with its leader, Brother Abu 'Ammar, came out of the battle of Tripoli to resume activity and to start all over again after the failure of that conspiracy. However, we must not forget that the wound which was sustained by the organization and the recent painful blows it received did not affect its heart, its spirit, its will or its symbol. The organization has therefore held on to its determination, and it is continuing its struggle. As far as the dissidents are concerned, their position on the Palestinian scene of struggle has come to an end because Palestinians are adamant about rejecting from the ranks of their fighters those who created for the first time in the history of the Palestinian people, in 65 years, those who would turn their guns against their fellow Palestinians.

#### The People's Front and the Democratic Front

[Question] What is Fatah's attitude toward the Popular Front and the Democratic Front? How will these differences be remedied and settled?

[Answer] At the meeting of Fatah's Central Committee and the Revolutionary Council and during the meeting of the PLO Executive Committee we discussed the questions that have to do with the crisis which occurred in Tripoli or matters that came up during the Cairo visit. Everyone agreed that this issue has to be restricted to our organization and that it should not go beyond its boundaries since everyone considered this step to be an error and not a deviation. Those who are trying to condemn Brother Abu 'Ammar for making this visit kept quiet about the massacres of our people in al-Barid and al-Badawi camps. This question does not signify an infringement upon the position of Brother Abu 'Ammar because that position is determined by the Palestinian National Council which elected him. These organizations also took part in that election. Although it is the next National Council that will declare its opinion on these issues, what is very clear to the masses of our people and our nation is that those who are trying to encroach upon Brother Abu 'Ammar's position are making a mistake. Any step that was taken by Abu 'Ammar was taken only as an attempt to advance the Palestinian struggle; it was not an attempt to approach Camp David, to carry out the terms of that agreement or make a commitment to it. Quite the contrary, the steps that 'Arafat took were an attempt to advance the Palestinian cause by trying to bring Egypt closer to the Palestinian struggle.

Let me say once again that this matter will be dealt with on the grounds of Palestinian organizations and through meetings held between the principal parties who make independent national decisions. These are the parties that proved their commitment to the national cause during the national struggle and kept their distance from the blackmailing efforts of some regimes. These principal parties that constitute the foundation of the alliance in the Liberation Organization are now meeting in Algeria. These parties are the Democratic Front, the Popular Front and Fatah. Dr George Habash, Nayif Hawatimah and Abu Iyyad and Abu al-Hawl for Fatah's Central Committee are holding several meetings to find a common denominator for the expanded meeting that will be held soon. That meeting, which will include members of the Political Office of the Democratic Front, members of the

Political Office of the Popular Front, the Central Committee of Fatah and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Front and the Palestinian Communist Party, will be held for the purpose of deliberating upon and laying the foundations for future Palestinian action so as to get out of this crisis. Above all else we have a fundamental view that is based on the principle that it is a matter of the foremost necessity that total care be devoted to the fact that all Palestinian parties who firmly and steadfastly paid the price of their commitment, participate in making independent national decisions. For that purpose it is necessary that expanded meetings are held to outline the form of the joint cooperation in the next stage. In the next few days other meetings will be held between Fatah's Central Committee and the political offices of a number of these organizations. The first one of these meetings will be held between the Central Committee and the Political Office of the Democratic Front. After that meetings with the rest of the organizations will be held.

#### The Joint Committee

[Question] Finally, did the Joint Jordanian-Palestinian Committee begin its meetings, and what will be on the agenda of the Committee to Support Steadfastness?

[Answer] The Joint Jordanian-Palestinian Committee did not start working. We are still waiting for the Jordanian government to name its delegation. No changes will be made in the Palestinian delegation. At the present time we are engaged in communications to set the starting date for the committee meetings. As far as the meetings that began are concerned, these are meetings for the Palestinian party in the Joint Committee To Support Steadfastness. This part of the committee is meeting to discuss facts available to committee members and pertaining to questions of the occupied land and the agenda of the Joint Committee To Support Steadfastness. The burdens and responsibilities of the committee are piling up, particularly those that have to do with finances, and these require action so they can be confronted and settled. Most Arab countries failed to honor their pledges in this regard. As a result of that many projects to support and back our people in various areas of life on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have been hampered. This makes it necessary that efforts be intensified to communicate to Arab leaders the need to make those payments expeditiously and honor those pledges made to our people in the occupied land. [It must be stressed] that this is coming at a time when the vicious Zionist campaign to apply pressure against our people is being intensified. Our people are being encouraged to emigrate, and settlement plans are being promoted.

No matter how some Arab leaders may try to justify their motives for delaying their payments, those excuses are unacceptable in all cases because what is being offered to support the steadfastness of our people in the occupied land is paltry and insignificant. The whole sum does not exceed an appropriation of 100 million dollars a year. Libya has not made a single payment ever since the support was instituted. Other Arab countries also have not paid their contributions. Thus, the sum that has been available has been about 54 million dollars only. Only the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia paid its share, and Kuwait paid part of its share. It would be enough for us to review one of the enemy's decisions. This is a decision that was made by the last Zionist Conference to appropriate 200 million dollars for construction only in Jerusalem in 1984. This does not include other sums of money that will be spent in establishing settlements in other areas of the West

Bank and Gaza Strip. If this large sum of money was paid for one housing project, what about what was paid for other projects? The question I have here is this: How can we confront Judaization plans and plans to destroy our people's way of life without having the minimum resources necessary to do so?

We hope that the countries in question will meet their commitments without delay, particularly at this time when high prices and economic pressures are wearing out all aspects of our people's lives in the occupied land.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

VARIOUS POLITICAL FIGURES, OBSERVERS GIVE IMPRESSIONS, ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE

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[Article: "The Palestinians"]

[Excerpts] What is the picture of Palestine's future?

Will the Palestinians go to the negotiating table?

Will they go to a limited guerrilla war on the occupied territories?

Will they go back to terrorism?

Or will they continue to fight among themselves, rather than fighting together, and continue negotiating among themselves in an inconclusive manner rather than negotiating with the other side?

What alternatives are open to the Palestinian people today? We must be utterly "sincere" and "severe" with ourselves as we determine these alternatives, because most unfortunately they are limited and defined by complex, difficult elements.

Without trying to impose any negative or positive considerations on the Palestinian fighting men or propose anything to Palestinian officials, we will, as we venture into this report, leave it up to the picture of the Palestinian, Arab, and international state of affairs to tell us whether the near future will be witnessing internal parleys or negotiations, fighting or infighting.

The Palestinians and the Settlement: Hani al-Hasan to AL-MAJALLAH: We Are Facing a New Yalta, and We Must Sit down with Jordan

Hani al-Hasan represents one of the prominent leaders of the Liberation Organization who are involved in Palestinian diplomatic activity. Hani al-Hasan's recent visits to numerous Arab and European capitals have had an important effect in articulating the picture of the Palestinian activity to come. Hani al-Hasan's most important recent stops were perhaps in Amman and Paris. This meeting includes an attempt to become informed about the picture

of Palestinian political activity as he conceives it, in the form of a new "Yalta agreement."

Hani al-Hasan says, "It is important that we define the nature of the political stage in the international context. I can almost assert that we are in the stage of the formulation of a "new Yalta" for the world. The old Yalta, in 1945, in which the victors divided up the world map after World War Two, was plagued with disturbances as a result of the developments in the final years. These disturbances started in 1963 when the missile crisis took place in Cuba. The struggle has continued since that time, and we are now at the decisive stage in a new Yalta which will reapportion influence in the world and end the current state of confrontation. On this basis, the years we spent after 1980 have been marked by decisive confrontation. This confrontation may continue until 1986. In this stage, the outcome of the Palestinian struggle will be determined, in terms of whether or not we will win material gains for our people on the ground. Therefore, we can designate the stage we are passing through as "the struggle of the last 10 meters." Essentially, we had to participate in "the stage of the first 90 meters" in order to take part in this stage. One should bear in mind that the struggle of the last meters is the one that will determine the result. It is also characterized by viciousness and harshness on the political and military levels. In this context, it is worth pointing out that all the blood we see flowing in the world is to water the seed of the coming detente in the new Yalta.

"Here I must point out that one of the Palestinian leaders' errors in 1945 was that they did not contribute to the blood that was shed at that time, and that prevented them from being present at the negotiating table when the process of dividing up the world began. Zionism triumphed at that time and established its state because it took part in the struggle which took place during that stage.

"The question that is going about now is, is 1984 the year in which the fruit will be picked? Is it the year of solutions as far as the Palestinian cause goes? Without the least doubt, the answer to that question is no. The struggle in the new year will be more violent and vicious than it was last year, because it will not be the year of detente; rather, it will be the year in which the cards are dealt. The Palestinians have lost Lebanon and have devoted a year to bitter fighting with Syria; nonetheless, in spite of that, they are entering the new stage with two basic achievements:

"1. Recognition of the Palestinian identity.

"2. The establishment of a leadership that the people can rally around.

"However, that does not exempt the organization from formulating a new geographic alternative, because, for the first time since the revolution was launched, it is lacking a secure geographic base. In 1965 Syria was the base, in 1967 Jordan was the base, then after that it was Lebanon. Now we have only two theaters in which freely to maintain a presence: the Lebanese theater, which it has no longer possible to return to, and the Jordanian theater, which, owing to specific facts, is the most important stage of the Palestinian revolution. Here it is worth pointing out that the Jordanians

are falling prey to real fears on the notion of the alternative state. It is well known that Israel is now trying to move the West Bank camps to the al-Aghwar area of Jordan, as part of the process of moving them to Transjordan, and it will embark on this plan in the next 2 months. Therefore, the Jordanians have the right to be afraid that the drain of large numbers of Palestinians into their country will lead to a great disruption that might be exploited to partition Jordan. That makes it mandatory that the Palestinian revolution take Jordan by the hand in coping with this challenge, and others in the future."

Hani al-Hasan went on: "Some people may say that Egypt could function as a secure base for the Palestinian revolution. In my opinion, this is out of the question, because Egypt has defined its political course and it is a theater which is not in direct contact with the occupied territories. Therefore, Jordan is our only geographical alternative and that leads to a common political alternative with the Jordanians."

On military action, Hani al-Hasan said, "I believe that Jordan cannot allow us freedom of military action, but, in the context of the mutual understanding we are striving for, we, with our Jordanian brothers, have reached agreement on increasing the size of the Liberation Organization's political presence in Jordan. Without the least doubt, the form of this presence will develop as circumstances develop. Therefore we state frankly that we cannot go to bed at night now before thinking about what will happen in Jordan tomorrow. The importance of this matter becomes apparent when we recognize that we have lost Lebanon for good and that Syria is closed to us."

Regarding the Reagan plan, he said, "We have reached understanding with Jordan that the Reagan plan cannot be the basis of relations between us. The Jordanians, after the American-Israeli strategic alliance, have become more convinced by our viewpoint, and their conviction increased after Washington failed to carry out what it had promised, in the context of ending the Lebanese crisis and stopping the settlement process in the West Bank. Here I might point out that we have been guided by the contents of King Husayn's latest speech before the Jordanian parliament, when he stressed a European role in resolving the Middle East crisis and the need to hold an international conference for this purpose.

"As a result, I can say that we in the Palestinian revolution cannot accept the Reagan plan as a basis for any relationship between ourselves and Jordan. We must commit ourselves to our own decisions. Even if a change is made in the Reagan plan, we will not adopt any position before sitting down with our Jordanian brothers to discuss that in the light of self-determination for the Palestinian people. I must point out here that the Europeans, and the French in particular, are trying to induce the United States to change its positions toward the Liberation Organization and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and to put pressure on Washington to reach understanding with the Soviet Union on this matter. I consider that the horizons of Palestinian action must focus on Europe in the coming stage, in view of the basic role it plays vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the United States. I should not miss the opportunity to stress here that King Fahd is putting all his weight and doing everything in his power to make Europe more receptive to the Liberation Organization."



Concerning the resistance's alliances, Hani al-Hasan emphasized "the need to strengthen relations with the Soviet Union and the need to return to Arab solidarity, because the policy of axes has caused the Palestinian revolution to suffer the afflictions it has undergone and because Arab solidarity, as far as the resistance goes, is like water to fish. The Palestinian revolution is in favor of stressing the struggle against Israel, and narrowing it as far as possible."

#### Government in Exile

With respect to a government in exile, Hani al-Hasan said, "The declaration of a government of that sort will first of all require full international recognition of the Liberation Organization, including Europe, on condition that the declaration of a temporary government have the effect of strengthening the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. Our work in the future must be concentrated on the content of the European countries' recognition of the Palestinian government in exile, in the event it is declared. The Europeans want the recognition formula to include the recognition of Israel and we will not accept this condition. The establishment of a government in exile will not conflict with the retention of the Liberation Organization's present format. The Algerians established their government without eliminating the Liberation Front, and the same was the case with the Vietnamese. However, the Algerians and the Vietnamese did not announce the government until the whole world had been won over to their cause. In this regard, the government of the Palestinian people committed a great mistake when it raised a flag before the international groundwork which could protect this flag by recognizing it came into being. Therefore, its was a tragic fate."

Hani al-Hasan pointed out that the Palestinian resistance must not fall into the quagmire of reverting to terrorism, and he stressed that military action, as Palestinian action, would continue to exist, but within the occupied territories and wherever Zionist targets existed abroad. He stressed that it was military action that would maintain the scope for political action and would spare the situation the state of stagnation which it went through from 1948 to the launching of the Palestinian revolution. Part of the Palestinian revolution's missions in the coming stage will be to preserve the unified Liberation Organization, but he did not consider it far-fetched that secessionists, and their partisans and the people supporting them, would take the step of forming leadership councils parallel to the legitimate Palestinian councils. However, he said that the position of the occupied territories and the major Palestinian communities would be decisive in giving legitimacy to one party or another. He expected that the forces in opposition to the legitimate Palestinian leaders would resort to carrying out extensive assassinations, and expected that the new year would be the year of the assassination of some Palestinian personalities. "In this event, we have the right to defend ourselves." At the end of his conversation, he asserted that the coming stage could witness a great change in the pattern of Palestinian action, and a change in the structure of the Palestinian leadership.

The Palestinians and Revolutionary War: Usamah al-Ghazali: The Problem of the Palestinian Resistance Is that It Has No Bases in the Occupied Territories

The rapid developments which occurred on the stage of the Palestinian resistance in the second half of this year are the most serious that the resistance has faced for close to 20 years, which is its entire life. How did the Palestinian resistance get to the point it has reached in recent days? What is the resistance's status among modern resistance movements? Where is the Palestinian resistance headed in the coming period? AL-MAJALLAH met with Dr Usamah al-Ghazali, expert with the Center of Strategic Studies of the newspaper AL-AHRAM, and presented these questions to him, since he is a specialist in the affairs of modern revolutionary movements and his thesis for the master's degree in 1979 was on this subject.

We started by asking him about the Palestinian resistance's position among the national resistance movements in our modern world: where does it share common ground with them, and where does it differ?

[Answer] In comparing various revolutionary movements, we must take the particular nature of each experience into consideration. The essence of any revolution is linked, to a large extent, to its ability to respond to its own special circumstances. This puts restrictions on the notion of making a comparison, although we have often been accustomed to resorting to such comparisons. More serious than that is the attempt to make mechanistic copies of certain experiences. In the light of these reservations, I can state that the Palestinian experience represents a unique and complex one among the revolutionary experiences in our world. That may be attributed to the numerous forms of confrontation with the Israeli enemy, which were as follows:

1. The first form was the confrontation between the pattern of the British settler colonization of Israel and the Palestinian inhabitants whose land was occupied in 1948. From this angle, it is possible to compare the Palestinian experience with the circumstances of the situation in South Africa, for example.
2. The second form was the confrontation between the foreign occupation force and the Palestinians living under the occupation on the Bank and in Gaza in 1967. This is to be considered a cover for the traditional colonialism such as that which prevailed in the countries of the third world when they became independent.
3. The third form was the confrontation on the territory of a third party. Here we find ourselves dealing with two situations: the situation of the Palestinians in the Arab countries surrounding Israel, and the situation of the Palestinians in other countries.

[Question] What, however, has been the effect of this proliferation of forms of confrontation on the nature of the Palestinian experience itself?

[Answer] This proliferation is to be considered one of the particular characteristics of the Palestinian experience, because it is not to be found in

the Palestinian experiences in all of these circumstances. That is, each of the three forms of confrontation has dictated one or more specific mode of resistance. For example, the Palestinians' struggle within the Israeli entity has been dominated by a political character, while on the Bank and Gaza this struggle has been mixed with the methods of civil disobedience and sometimes revolutionary violence and guerrilla war.

#### The Source of the Difficulties

[Question] Will this situation lead to specific difficulties for the Palestinian resistance?

[Answer] This situation was not the real source of the resistance's difficulties. However, the circumstances of the development of this resistance led ultimately to concentration on action from outside, and not from inside, the occupied territories. Directly after the 1967 war the circumstances were favorable for the growth of armed resistance from within, launched from the bases of support the resistance had established in Jordan and Lebanon. However, this situation soon deteriorated for many reasons, most important of them the tension in relations between the resistance and the governments in the neighboring countries. We must also acknowledge the mistakes which marred the resistance's relationship with the inhabitants of these countries and the excesses committed by some of the Palestinian fighting men there. In addition, the Israeli reaction to the guerrilla movement at that time was savage.

[Question] Since a comprehensive comparison is not possible, in your view, do you believe that the Palestinian experience has not succeeded in benefiting from the expertise gained in the Vietnamese experience, at least in certain techniques of guerrilla war?

[Answer] Here, one must talk about the most important differences between the two experiences. The first difference is that the Palestinian resistance was launched not from inside the Bank and Gaza but rather from the territory of neighboring Arab countries. The Vietnamese resistance was launched from the territory of South Vietnam, from the villages and jungles. The second difference is that the Palestinian resistance rapidly lost its bases of support in Jordan and Lebanon, and Arab support for it, especially military support, started gradually to diminish. This is the opposite of what happened in Vietnam, since the Vietnamese Liberation Front relied on full support from the government of North Vietnam, China and the Soviet Union, at all levels, military, material and moral.

[Question] This prompts us to ask about the extent of the importance of foreign support for any liberation movement, and its effect on its independence.

[Answer] There is no doubt that the effectiveness of any liberation movement depends in the first place on its intrinsic strength, but this is not to deny that foreign support is a basic requirement for the success and survival of such a movement. It is this support which provides it with money, arms, training and media support. However, it is important that foreign sup-

port remain at the service of the liberation movement itself, so that this movement will not become the prisoner of the forces that are offering it support, or else they will influence its independence.

[Question] Did the Vietnamese resistance succeed in preserving its independence?

[Answer] Yes, it did, to a large degree, even in the most severe moments of confrontation with the United States. The constant element is that that resistance continued to hold the initiative in all the decisive battles and crucial decisions. In fact, some of these battles and decrees were not well received by the government of Hanoi or by Peking or Moscow. However, the Vietnamese revolution's insistence on preserving its independence of decisionmaking dictated that the foreign support forces continue to support it, and this is a problem the Palestinian resistance always suffered from.

#### The Future of the Resistance

[Question] In the light of your studies of revolutionary movements in the modern world, what future do you foresee for the Palestinian resistance? Do you believe that the latest developments might revive the notion of the formation of a temporary Palestinian government?

[Answer] The notion of a temporary government in the present situation represents a pro forma change that is not in keeping with the serious nature of Palestinian circumstances. This notion has always been known as the last resort of revolutionary movements. However, in the light of the current circumstances it will become a means for keeping the Palestinian situation alive, with all its resources, by offering a solution to the real problems that the rift has created.

[Question] Some observers consider that the other more probable alternative is that important segments of the resistance will direct themselves toward "revolutionary terrorism."

[Answer] At the beginning, I would like to express reservations about the use of the expression "terrorism" because that gives a sense that is bad or to be rejected. The colonial powers always used this expression to describe resistance movements opposed to them. The British, for example, talked about terrorism in the Suez Canal, Cyprus, Kenya, Ireland and so forth. Therefore, it is necessary to make it clear that the expression "terrorism" here refers to individual acts of violence which occur in a haphazard manner.

[Question] However, the expression "revolutionary terrorism," in modern Palestinian history, refers to a specific type of guerrilla operation directed against civilian, not military targets, such as airplane hijackings and political assassinations. This is the type of terrorism on which the Liberation Organization imposed a comprehensive prohibition in the early seventies.

[Answer] Whatever the definition used might be, "revolutionary terrorism" was and will remain one of the methods to which resistance movements resort.



However, the important thing is the circumstances in which these movements resort to terrorism, and the limits on their use of it. Recourse to terrorism usually is made in the resistance's moments of weakness or despair. Terrorism, as they say, is the weapon of the weak. Therefore we can imagine the possibility that acts of terrorism will increase in the coming stage, and, if the world's disregard of the Palestinian cause and the failure to find a just solution to it continue, we should not be very surprised if the Palestinians resort to terrorism.

[Question] However, do you believe that recourse to terrorism is enough as an effective means whereby the Palestinian struggle can achieve its national objectives?

[Answer] Terrorism never was a means for realizing the national objectives of any resistance movement.

It is one means, not the most important means. Also, it has its limits, as well as its risks. The Palestinian struggle's attainment of its national objectives is contingent on the resistance's ability, one, to mobilize and rally its basic masses in the occupied territories, and two, to engage in all forms of political and military resistance against the enemy. Whatever the value of guerrilla activities which might take place outside the occupied territories might be, they will never be able to dispense with the resistance and perseverance of the Palestinian people on the occupied territories themselves.

The Palestinians after the Departure from Lebanon: After Tripoli: The Stage of Independent Palestinian Decisionmaking

In the next few weeks, the outlines of the new Palestinian strategy which Yasir 'Arafat is now working to bring about, following his departure from Tripoli, will become clear. Although it is still early to determine the outlines of this anticipated change, many Palestinian leaders and thinkers now realize that it would be folly for the organization to continue with the platform it had resolved on in the past, as a result of the errors that were committed and the nature of the relationship that binds the forces of the Palestinian revolution together within the framework of the organization.

Following the expected defeat which the forces loyal to Yasir 'Arafat suffered in and around Tripoli, the organization lost its last military and political positions in Lebanon and thus lost its last direct contact with the forces of the Israeli enemy at any point contiguous to the territory of Palestine. However, the organization came out of Tripoli with a major gain, as Mr Khalid al-Hasan (Abu al-Sa'id), told us: from Tripoli emerged the strategy to free the organization for the first time in its history from certain regional parties. Some people, such as Mr Shafiq al-Hut, the organization's representative in Beirut, and Mr Faysal 'Uwaydah, its representative in London, have gone so far as to consider that the new year will be the year of independent Palestinian decisionmaking based on trends in the Palestinian majority, not on unanimity.

Many Palestinian leaders consider that before it discusses the options facing it, the organization must review its structure, its democratic condition and maintenance of its internal order, so that it will be able to launch political or military activity on firmer foundations. These leaders, whom AL-MAJALLAH talked with, unanimously agree that the former arrangement, by which decisions were taken unanimously, restricted the organization's freedom to move, and therefore that the Palestinian National Congress must change this rule so that decisions will be taken by a majority, when it is not possible to reach unanimity on them.

Mr Shafiq al-Hut, member of the Central Committee of FATAH and the National Congress, who believes that the new year will be the year of review, not retreat, calls for a clear tentative political program which will be efficacious in dealing with the actual conditions that this stage is witnessing. He says, "I am one of those who believe in armed struggle, although I do not prefer it to the other types of diplomatic, political and media struggle. From where, however, will we now set forth in armed struggle, now that the borders around Israel have been closed off?"

Mr Faysal 'Uwaydah, the organization's representative in London, refers to the fragmentation and rebellion in the ranks of FATAH and the organization in general, and the rift with Syria, stating "Al-Sa'iqah and the Front for the Liberation of Palestine -- General Command are two members of the National Congress, and if you want to adopt a unanimous resolution you will not get anywhere because the two extremist opposition elements will be a stumbling block. Therefore there is no way to avoid following the majority system followed in all the parliaments of the world, because we are proponents of true democracy."

Shafiq al-Hut calls for sound democracy and says "We are always boasting of Palestinian democracy, but the time has come for me to reveal some of its shortcomings. The fact is that the National Congress' policy was always decided in the wings by influential, effective persons. We ourselves would hold proceedings in the National Congress and the leaders of the forces would sit down by themselves to make their own decision in the light of what they had heard, or in the light of what they wanted or rejected. I believe that the time has come for these active persons to leave Palestinian decisionmaking alone. I demanded, and still do demand, that the Palestinian decisions be made by the National Congress and not in the wings and then protected by the name of the National Congress. In my opinion it is necessary to review Palestinian democracy so that it may more truthfully reflect the feelings of the Palestinian masses."

#### The Issue of Discipline

Mr Faysal 'Uwaydah refers to the issue of the lack of discipline in the ranks of the organization, which has tarnished its reputation somewhat. However, he considers that the disturbance lies not in the organization itself but rather in its administrative system. Statements about patronage and people who have quickly become rich, the violation of the laws of the organization and the laws of the host countries, individual mythology and acts of fraud have proliferated, and that has all harmed not just the reputation of

the organization but also its relations with the citizens and governments of the host countries, as was the case in Jordan and Lebanon in particular. Why, however, did the organization turn its attention away from these violations?

Faysal 'Uwaydah says, "The fact is that we were afraid of rifts and rebellion within the organization, and we turned our attention away from all or most violations so that a schismatic climate would not take concrete form, or we would not provoke 'so-and-so's men against the men of thus-and-so.' The fact is that that policy was wrong, and in the end it realized the fears that we had been suffering from. Now, now that the major crime, or the major fear, has been realized, nothing must stop us from looking with the utmost seriousness at these sorts of violations, if the organization is to survive. We turned our attention from many trials and investigations after leaving Beirut in 1982 out of fear that some Arab country might exploit the situation. However, the general perception regarding this matter is now changing. We have lost a great deal because of it, and if we we once again strike out at these sorts of violations, we will gain what we have lost over a number of years."

Shafiq al-Hut believes that it would have been possible to eliminate the Palestinian rift and division at the National Congress conference in Algeria in February 1983 had the leaders of the forces, or those he calls the active persons, not concentrated on the romantic aspect of the war in Lebanon, the Palestinian achievements and the military perseverance, and had they sat down to contemplate the importance and gravity of what happened in Lebanon. Says al-Hut, "We ought to have been aware of the seriousness of this event, because it resulted in the imposition of new realities and new facts which made it impossible for us to continue on the same road and in the same direction." Therefore, whether or not the current leadership wishes it, Shafiq al-Hut is anxious to appeal, as he says, for "us to sit down, contemplate and study most profoundly the changes which have occurred in the Palestinian cause, because it is no longer permissible to continue on the same road, now that the rearguard support, which is the Lebanese theater, has been lost."

#### The Options Available

What options, however, might be available to the Palestinian decisionmakers? There are two options, Palestinian intellectuals unanimously agree, although the military option remains a third alternative. They are the Jordanian option and the option of establishing a temporary government in exile. The military option, which could be part of either of the other two, will depend in this stage on the domestic escalation of guerrilla operations against Israeli military targets and the organization of passive and active mass resistance. Faysal 'Uwaydah says, "Benefit is the lord of adversity. Our departure from the peripheral bases makes it mandatory that we now concentrate more on domestic action. I imagine that our situation domestically, politically or militarily, can only be strengthened so that our domestic action will be the basis." Mr Khalid al-Hasan brings up the psychology of the Palestinian soldier, whose forces are scattered between the eastern and western reaches of the Arab lands. He says that this situation will turn the Palestinian soldier into either a terrorist or an agent (a reference to the

status of Palestinian soldiers in some Arab countries) if he is not given an opportunity to take serious action in liberating his country. Shafiq al-Hut considers in the light of the closing of all the borders around Israel that it is necessary to move toward mass struggle domestically, even if military activity at the beginning will be modest or ineffective. Al-Hut cites as evidence the example the Lebanese offer in their resistance to the Israeli enemy in the south.

The Jordanian option is the most important of those that lie before the organization now. A summary of this option is that the Jordanian monarch will be delegated to negotiate to regain the Bank and the Strip on behalf of the Palestinians, so that they can establish their independent state there, prior to its annexation to the East Bank in a confederation on the basis of the Reagan initiative or the United Kingdom of Jordan, the idea of which was raised by King Husayn a number of years ago. The leaders of the organization still prefer to discuss the Jordanian option in a framework separate from that of the Reagan initiative, at least because of America's hostile stand and because the initiative totally ignores the organization and the Palestinians' rights to establish an independent state before making contact with Jordan. In spite of the previous struggles and doubts, the two parties are now convinced, more than at any time in the past, that they face a common danger and that neither of them will be able in isolation to snatch anything from Israel's grasp. The two parties are now convinced that their interests are interconnected because of historic, geographic, economic and human relations. Now that 'Arafat has left Tripoli, bringing the freedom of Palestinian decisionmaking with him, he is able to mobilize most of the Palestinian people behind him so that he may once again clarify the possibilities of the Jordanian option. Contacts were made recently between King Husayn and some leaders of the organization to prepare for this step, which the two parties welcome, and which the current state of the organization and the dangers threatening Jordan have dictated. Faysal 'Uwaydah believes that the Jordanian alternative is all that is left to the organization and that the only option remaining to it is to negotiate with King Husayn so that it may return to Amman, not to be an alternative to the Jordanian regime, but to engage in its activity among its own people on the basis of carefully studied, agreed upon rules. Shafiq al-Hut, who does not reject the notion of the Jordanian alternative, believes that any victory that can be realized on the Palestinian stage will require a minimum of Arab solidarity and points up the importance of the other Arab countries surrounding Israel in the strategic sense.

The second alternative open to the organization is the establishment of a government in exile. That is an old idea which has been raised repeatedly in the past. However, the leaders of the organization intensified their rejection of it, as Shafiq al-Hut says, after the late President Anwar al-Sadat proposed it. Shafiq al-Hut is one of the proponents of the idea, although [stating that] it needs detailed study, investigation and thought. However, Faysal 'Uwaydah rejects the notion "because it will do more harm than good in this stage."

We asked the expert on international law Dr Anis al-Qasim, one of the people who framed the constitution of the organization, about the constitutional



measures necessary for forming a government in exile. He said, "The establishment of a government in exile will require a decree of the Palestinian National Congress, on grounds that it is the highest body in the organization. Since the congress elected an executive committee at its last session, the transformation of this committee, or a number of its members or other persons, into a government will require a decree from the congress. The formation of a government absolutely does not mean the dissolution of the Palestine Liberation Organization. There are precedents in Algeria and France. However, the formation of a government in exile will require that there be another country which will accept the existence of another government on its territory."

#### The Palestinians and the Secessionists: A Pessimistic View by Abu Musa on the Future of the Organization

Although AL-MAJALLAH disagrees with the secessionists' method of handling their disputes with Yasir 'Arafat, and although AL-MAJALLAH has taken a stand against any combat between Arabs, especially between Palestinians, in this critical stage, we sought to understand, through Abu Musa, his side on the reasons which led to the shedding of Palestinian blood at the hands of Palestinians and made matters reach the point they have reached.

Abu Musa says that the dispute within the FATAH movement deals with issues of politics, organization and conduct and that this dispute is 5 years old. "We tried, before the Israeli invasion of Beirut and southern Lebanon, to resolve this dispute within the framework of the organization, but the leadership rejected our proposal to hold a conference of the movement to discuss the various aspects of the dispute." Concerning the political statement of the Palestinian National Congress, Abu Musa says that this statement cannot be binding in the Palestinian context because five of a total of eight Palestinian organizations had reservations about it.

Abu Musa says that Yasir 'Arafat was not delegated by the Palestinian people to hold discussions with King Husayn on the confederation with Jordan, and that there was a dispute on the Fez summit resolutions "but we did not act in any contrary manner; rather, we said we should perhaps continue with a democratic dialogue." The dispute erupted later, when Yasir 'Arafat, at the beginning of last May, issued decrees on the removal of some FATAH movement officers from Lebanon and the appointment of new commanders who were committed to Yasir 'Arafat's platform. Abu Musa considers, "The departure of the Palestinian revolution from Lebanon will be the end of it, because the true arena of struggle is the Lebanese theater."

Abu Musa says that Yasir 'Arafat shifted the dispute from FATAH to the Palestinian theater, then turned it into a conflict with the Syrians and rejected dialogue, "indeed declared war on us, and self-defense was necessary." Abu Musa asserts that the dispute with 'Arafat deals with the political issue "because our brother Abu 'Ammar wants to take the Reagan plan which says no to the Palestinian state and no to the Liberation Organization into consideration."

Concerning the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, Abu Musa says, "We asked that everyone who played a part in the military failures in the south

be brought to trial, but rather than responding to our demands and forcing everyone to face his responsibility, Yasir 'Arafat gave the people whose performance was deficient higher organizational positions and put them at the apex of the pyramid. That was one of the reasons that prompted us to tell Yasir 'Arafat, 'You are now unable to lead this revolution, and you are making mistakes politically and organizationally by failing to bring the people who were deficient in performing their national and military role to account.'"

Abu Musa considers that it is necessary to go back to the Palestinian national conference to resolve the dispute "but that will not mean that we see any perspective for a resolution; Yasir 'Arafat is still committed to his program." Abu Musa insists that no foreign element controls his decisions "and if anyone tries to do so I will prevent him." Concerning the Soviet position, Abu Musa says, "We read that the Soviets support the organization on grounds that it is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We appreciate this position and call on the whole world to recognize only one Palestinian organization."

In conclusion Abu Musa says "I do not anticipate a Syrian-Israeli war in the foreseeable future, because of the international situation in the region, Israel's internal situation, and Syria's consolidation of its military strength; that will all delay the outbreak of such a war."

The Palestinians and the Egyptian Alternative: Butrus Ghali: There Are Three Conditions by Which Egypt Will Return to the Negotiating Table

AL-MAJALLAH held a conversation with Dr Butrus Ghali, the Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, which started with the subject "what after Tripoli? a very Egyptian view." The conversation took place a few hours before the meeting between President Husni Mubarak and the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir 'Arafat. We ended the conversation with the responsible minister, who took part in this important meeting, on the subject "what after the Mubarak-'Arafat meeting?"

There is much political significance to be attached to the Mubarak-'Arafat meeting. 'Arafat returned to Egypt after an absence of 6 years to continue surging forward along the harsh, rocky, long road toward his goal and the Palestinians' hopes of returning to the land of Palestine. What does 'Arafat's visit to Cairo mean?

Dr Butrus Ghali said, "The visit has many meanings: first of all, it is recognized that Egypt is the basic foundation of any movement in the Middle East, second, although Egypt has relations with Israel, the organization has talked with Egypt, and that in itself is of further meaning and significance, and third, that represents the beginning of a new strategy which we hope the Liberation Organization will spell out, which is the strategy of peace rather than the strategy of confrontation."

Dr Ghali added, "We must not rush things. Sufficient time is needed to absorb the situation so that the combatants will be able to assimilate the new strategy."

We Support 'Arafat

[Question] Will Egypt support this strategy?

[Answer] We support 'Arafat's legitimate status. We are confident that the organization will succeed in responding to the new situation in the organization.

[Question] What do you expect from the American role?

[Answer] If the organization really does act, and if the dialogue with Jordan takes place and leads to an agreement, the United States can play its part in full and do everything it promised in order to execute the peace initiative.

[Question] Is Egypt ready to participate in the dialogue?

[Answer] If Jordan, the organization and the Palestinians reach agreement, we are ready to take part in this trilateral discussion -- Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians -- and jointly to enter into peace negotiations on the Bank and Gaza, with the participation of the United States and Israel.

[Question] Is Israel opposed to the dialogue between Egypt and 'Arafat?

[Answer] Why didn't it oppose the presence of a Liberation Organization office in Cairo? We retained our diplomatic relations with the organization, and our contacts with it. There is a recognized representative of the organization in Cairo. We will reject any Israeli opposition.

[Question] 'Arafat's return to Egypt is of significance in more than one sense, in the Arab, European and American contexts. President Mubarak's meeting with 'Arafat is proof that the effective Egyptian role has resumed, and 'Arafat's statements underline that. Did you note a conviction on 'Arafat's part that one cannot ignore the Egyptian role in the Arab area?

[Answer] Egypt has come back into the picture, after having been accused of withdrawing its support for the Palestinian cause. 'Arafat's arrival should be considered a recognition of Egypt's role on behalf of the Palestinian and Arab cause.

We return to the beginning of the conversation, 6 hours before the Greek ship bringing 'Arafat to Egyptian territorial waters entered Port Said.

[Question] What after Tripoli?

Dr Ghali said:

"First, the negotiations between Jordan and the Palestinians, between King Husayn and 'Arafat, the negotiations which were suspended on 10 April 1983, must start up again. There is no doubt that it will be possible for the cause to get moving through negotiations. Second, these negotiations will give support to the Palestinians in the Bank and on the Strip, and it will

be necessary that they focus attention on them and focus concern on them. They must take place with the Palestinians who are in Palestine."

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because the Palestinians in Palestine are the ones who are living on the land, and Israel is pursuing the policy of eviction, dispossession and the establishment of settlements. If Israel takes over the land, the Palestinian cause will be finished. If we can strengthen the Palestinian people domestically, that will be the best guarantee against attempts to finish off the Palestinian cause and the rights of the people of Palestine.

[Question] How can the people of Palestine who are in Palestine be supported?

[Answer] Through contact with them, and by offering them aid and getting them to take part in the peace process.

[Question] What are the means for achieving contact with the people domestically, in the face of Israel's opposition?

[Answer] The country that can play a leading role in this area is Jordan, not just because it has a million Palestinians but also because it has real contacts with the Palestinian leaders on the Bank.

[Question] What now, after 'Arafat's departure from Tripoli?

[Answer] His departure marks the beginning of the promotion of a new Liberation Organization strategy based on cooperation, dialogue and further contacts with the Palestinians of the Bank and the Gaza Strip, because they represent the center of true strength of the Palestinian cause, as they are present on the land.

[Question] What about the problems of internal rifts in the organization?

[Answer] If a Palestinian reconciliation does not take place, and if the organization continues to be split up, a division in its international support will result. Some people support 'Arafat and others support others. That weakens the international support for the rights of the Palestinian people.

#### Egypt's Conditions

[Question] Under what conditions would Egypt agree to return to the negotiating table?

[Answer] When three conditions are met: one, the agreement of Jordan, two, a Palestinian authorization for Jordan, and three, Palestinian participation. If they are met, Egypt will reappraise the situation and will decide to participate.

[Question] What are you asking of America?

[Answer] We are asking that America encourage the adoption of steps on the Bank and in the Strip, so that the Palestinian people in Palestine will be able to act.

[Question] What obstacles are facing the new strategy, after Tripoli?

[Answer] Israel may adopt a more arbitrary policy, to scare the Palestinian people in Palestine, which will prompt them to refuse to act, and consequently Jordan will hesitate and the cause will die.

[Question] You talked about the need to achieve equality in the negotiations. What has been the effect of the strategic agreement between America and Israel on this equality?

[Answer] The draft strategic agreement between America and Israel will not restrict American movement. I am confident that if the Arab and Palestinian side moves, the United States will move and play the role required of it, which it undertook to do when it presented the Reagan plan.

The Palestinians and the Occupied Territories: The People of the Bank and the Strip: What Do They Want?

Ilyas Furayj, the mayor of Bethlehem, summarized the importance of the opinions of Palestinians in the occupied areas regarding any new Palestinian strategy following the departure from Tripoli by stating, "The person who counts the number of blows of the stick is not like the person who is receiving those blows." AL-MAJALLAH has talked to a number of West Bank leaders and asked them about their reactions, following Yasir 'Arafat's departure from Tripoli, on a number of the Palestinian issues of the moment, especially the idea of establishing a government in exile, 'Arafat's visit to Cairo, the Jordanian option, the future of the military alternative and the strategy in the new year. This is what these contacts came up with.

Ilyas Furayj: A Government in Exile

Ilyas Furayj has always been among those who support the establishment of a Palestinian government in exile, because of his conviction that that will help improve the political progress. He believes that the Palestinians have lost a golden opportunity by failing to form a government in exile and that that has given the Israelis the opportunity to take what they want and build what they want. However, he still supports the establishment of a government in exile on principle, although he doubts that the current circumstances are suitable, because he doubts that there is Palestinian consensus on the idea.

Mr Furayj does not believe that the establishment of a government in exile will mean eliminating the Palestine Liberation Organization, and he says, "The organization is one arm, and the government another. The government must be active in the political and media fields and must obtain the authority to speak in the name of all the Palestinian people in all fields. If the government is a token one, lacking authority, its disadvantages will outweigh its advantages. We must have a single spokesman in the name of all the



Palestinian people. At present there are half a dozen spokesmen and one cannot tell who is representing whom."

Mr Furayj welcomed Abu 'Ammar's visit to Cairo and his meeting with President Husni Mubarak, and told us that nine out of every 10 people on the West Bank and the Strip have supported this visit. He says, "Egypt has offered aid and sacrifices. No one denies the importance of Egypt. However, the needs and interests of 45 million Egyptians have dictated that Egypt follow a political course which arises from a realistic study. Egypt is not hostile to the Palestinian cause, and its political course is similar to or close to Jordan's. Why should we oppose Egyptian policy if we are supporting Jordanian policy?"

This statement is clear proof of Mr Furayj's firm belief in the Jordanian alternative. He says, "I do not support slogans if I squeeze them and find them to be empty. If any political movement to liberate the Bank and the Strip comes about, it will not be possible to exclude Jordan. We breathe through Jordan. Jordan is with us in the good times and the evil times. The harm that surrounds us surrounds Jordan. The benefits we receive benefit Jordan, and the two countries complement each other from the geographic, economic, demographic and cultural standpoints." Mr Furayj does not believe that the establishment of a Palestinian government in exile will conflict with the Jordanian alternative, but rather that it will strengthen and support it.

Ilyas Furayj is one of the people who believe that the military alternative has come to an end.

He even considers the escalation of domestic resistance to be an activity with negative results, since he says, "Every action has a reaction. The escalation of guerrilla activity domestically will give the Israelis a justification to expel the inhabitants of the occupied areas."

#### Bassam Al-Shak'ah: No to the Jordanian Alternative

Mr Bassam al-Shak'ah, mayor of Nabulus, who has been under house arrest, is one of those who are opposed to the establishment of a government in exile and the Jordanian alternative. He believes that 'Arafat's visit to Cairo will exacerbate Palestinian disputes. On the notion of establishing a temporary government in exile, he says, "It is well known that the establishment of a government in exile, as far as any nation goes, comes as the result of development and progress in the attainment of its objectives. As for the Palestinians, the notion of establishing that sort of government is the result of collapse and a flight from confrontation, because of the control of circumstances and the unhealthy actual condition of the unhealthy Palestinian will."

Al-Shak'ah condemns 'Arafat's visit to Cairo because it contravened the resolutions of the National Congress and the Arab League and took place before an opportunity arose for dealing with the Palestinian schism and the deteriorating Arab situation. Therefore, he considers that the visit will guarantee that the Palestinian schism and the Arab struggle are exacerbated and

says, "If we consider that Cairo is the base of Camp David, the visit will turn the Palestinian cause from a central one to a secondary one."

Mr al-Shak'ah considers that Palestinian national unity must be the basic goal of the organization during this stage, not just in the interests of the Palestinian people but also in the interests of the Arabs and world peace. He considers that the internationalization of the Palestinian cause in this tense, confused international atmosphere will have grievous consequences for the cause.

#### Muhammad Milhim: The Stage of Independence

Mr Muhammad Milhim, the mayor of Halhul, whom the Israeli occupation forces exiled to the East Bank, is an independent Palestinian leader who is committed to the moderate wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization. He is an advocate of the establishment of a temporary government in exile which would in effect be an agency advancing the Palestinian people from the stage of struggle to the stage of independence. However, the establishment of such a government must be a result of a decision that is part of a new Palestinian strategy following the departure from Tripoli and he defines the bases of this strategy as the points which the majority of the Palestinian people will agree on, inasmuch as consensus, following the schism and rebellion in the organization's ranks, has become difficult to attain. In spite of that, he hopes that the organization will not be split in a serious manner that will threaten the unity of Palestinian ranks. He does not deny the right of the Palestinian opposition to express its views, but he does insist that the last word lies with the majority of the Palestinian people. He makes a distinction between the person with an adverse opinion and the secessionist, and says that the people who split off from the unity of the Palestinian ranks can do as they like. Mr Milhim makes the appeal that the headquarters of any temporary government that is formed should be as close as possible to Palestinian soil, and, since it is difficult in present circumstances to establish the temporary government in Lebanon or Syria, as long as its presence on Palestinian soil is out of the question, the alternatives are Egypt and Jordan. Even if a government in exile is not formed, he believes that the organization's command must be present in the midst of the Palestinian people, that is, on the East Bank of the Jordan, of whose population the Palestinians constitute the majority. He believes that it is possible, as a result of persistence and insistence, to come up with an equation for coexistence between Jordan, in terms of its king, government and people, and the organization or a temporary government. Mr Milhim does not deny that the Jordanian-Palestinian relationship has a past which might provoke doubts on the future of this equation, but he appeals that one rise above it, because Jordan is foremost among the Arab entities that are targets at present and the Palestinian presence in Jordan is important, not just in terms of the future of the Palestinian cause but also in terms of the preservation of Jordan's Arabhood.

We talked with Mr Milhim a short while before 'Arafat's visit to Cairo. However, from his conversation about Egypt's role, one can infer that he is not opposed to such contacts, which came as a surprise to many Arab and Palestinian circles. He told us, "No one could have ignored Egypt's role

from the beginning in supporting the Palestinian cause, were it not for the cloudiness which marred relations between the two parties because of Camp David, which has done nothing for the Palestinian people. However, after Israel's aggressive intentions were laid bare, Egypt started to realize that Israel is responsible for obstructing the peace efforts, and thus it is now possible for Egypt to return to its proper place. One must encourage Egypt to return, rather than boycotting it and cursing it. Without a united Arab position which includes Egypt, we will not be destined to succeed. There can be no war without Egypt and no peace without Egypt."

#### Mustafa 'Abd-al-Nabi Al-Natshah: The Organization Is the Basis

Mr Mustafa al-Natshah, the mayor of Hebron, who is under house arrest, recognizes that he has no clear idea regarding the problem of establishing a government in exile or its chances for success or failure. Therefore he calls for the idea to be studied in detail before any decision is taken. If it is discovered that it will help solve the Palestinians' political problems, he would support its formation. He believes that his opinion reflects the views of a broad segment of the people in the occupied territories. Whether a government in exile is formed or not, he considers that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the basis and that it must concentrate on the Jordanian alternative and resume dialogue and coordination with the Jordanian government in order to adopt a political solution.

Mr al-Natshah supports Yasir 'Arafat's visit to Cairo, and considers the visit not an endorsement of the Camp David agreements but rather an attempt to bring Egypt back to the Arab fold. He says that having Egypt take a practical stand alongside the Palestinian cause is better than alienating it from it. Mr al-Natshah believes that the organization now has the duty of gathering the fragments of the Palestinian people up into united ranks and ignoring people who refuse to return to the Palestinian policy. He also appeals for the opinion of the majority of the Palestinian people, the leadership and all the people both, to be binding.

The Palestinians and the Israeli Plan: AL-MAJALLAH Talks with Dr Hamdan Badr: There Is No Essential Difference between the Likud and Labor toward the Arabs!

Will the Israel of the Likud, or the Israel of the Labor Party, give anything to the Palestinians and the Arabs? That is a question which one must answer, at a time when peace initiatives, conferences and political movements are being presented with the objective of reaching a political settlement to the Arab-Israeli dispute. AL-MAJALLAH sought the opinion of Dr Hamdan Badr, one of the League of Arab States' most prominent experts on Israeli affairs, to answer the most important and serious question on the Palestinian issue, the Israeli question.

[Question] What is the Israeli reaction, officially and among the people, toward the Palestinian infighting that has occurred?

[Answer] Israel planned for a long time that what is actually happening now in the Palestine Liberation Organization would happen. What is actually



happening now was one of the things Israel anticipated after the resistance's departure from Beirut. They had expected that a rift would occur within the Liberation Organization "thanks to" the pressures the Palestinians would be subjected to on the part of some Arab regimes. The Israelis had anticipated that the Arab regimes' interference in Palestinian affairs would be exposed and that that interference would be easier for them than servitude in Beirut. I might point out that the Center of Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University held an important symposium with the participation of a large number of military and political experts in November 1982. At the symposium, these experts agreed that one of the results of the summer 1982 war, as well as striking down the resistance in the south of Lebanon and in Beirut, would take the form of a schism within the organization. This statement was made in November 1982, so they knew that a blow would be directed at the Liberation Organization. Israel was greatly vexed after the departure of the resistance from Beirut because of the gains the Liberation Organization had made in political and media terms, until the schism occurred, which had a great effect on the Palestinian resistance. What appears to the world now is that the rift is a Palestinian-Palestinian struggle, but the truth is different.

[Question] In the light of all these events, what is Israel seeking to achieve in the south, and how, following the expulsion of the resistance from southern Lebanon and Beirut?

[Answer] It is clear, and has been historically proved, that Israel's designs in the south of Lebanon are not new. Zionist documents are clear on this matter. The document the World Zionist Organization presented to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 stipulates, in precisely these words, that there was a dispute within the Zionist movement over whether Israel's borders should extend to the line of the al-Awwali River, which is where the Israeli forces are located now, that is, north of the city of Sidon, or should be south of the city of Sidon and exclude the city, which has a Sunnite Moslem and nationalist majority. The final draft which was presented to the conference stipulated that the borders should pass through the al-Zahrani area south of the city of Sidon, so that the whole of southern Lebanon, including the al-Litani River, would lie within Israel's borders. I am speaking here from the premise of reading a certified, established document, since Zionist ambitions are not new. The withdrawal of the Israeli army to this point today, the closing up of that point and the firing on Lebanese who cross these borders makes it likely that the situation in this area will come to resemble that of the West Bank now and that Israeli identity [cards] will be distributed to the citizens there, especially since the Arab situation will permit Israel to venture on such steps. The excuse offered on the readiness to withdraw, if the Syrian army withdraws, is only a pretext, because they realize that no one will withdraw, so what will they lose by linking their withdrawal to that of others? In my estimation, the Israelis will remain a long time. In the best of cases they will not leave southern Lebanon until they have put the south militarily, politically and economically under Israeli dominance, that is, made it part of Israel. That will take a long time, and they have in fact started to establish the necessary military installations for staying a long time.

[Question] What is the next instalment in the Zionist Israeli scheme? Will it be Jordan?

[Answer] International Zionism has not hidden its intentions in the Arab world in any way. It is just the Arabs who have not read what has been published and what has been set down in Zionist and international documents. People would laugh when it was stated that Israel had the intention of extending its borders from the Nile to the Euphrates. However, what do you say now that that has been proved by documents today, and everyone can read them?

The document I talked about just now, which was presented to the peace conference in Paris, draws Israel's borders, I could almost say to the centimeter, from southern Lebanon to Syria, specifically the Hawran area, then Jordan, from the al-Hijaz Railway line at Dar'a to al-'Aqabah, that is, all of inhabited Jordan. For history's sake, let me stress that neither the Labor Party nor the Likud Party has in any way relinquished the east of the Jordan River. The Likud Party, for example, has up to now been using the slogan that it raised in the forties, which is "the Jordan River has two banks; the one is ours and the other is ours." They consider that the northern areas of Jordan, which they call al-Kal'at in Hebrew, are an integral part of Israel, and Israel is today propounding what is called the alternative nation for the Palestinians in Jordan, to scare people and to sow the seeds of dissension between Jordanians and Palestinians. In my estimation, the target is the Jordanians and the Palestinians jointly, and Israel will never accept the presence of a country governed by Palestinians on its borders. Could you imagine if it cannot tolerate the presence of Palestinians in camps that it will permit them to gather together in a country in Jordan, that is, where it has the longest borders, in the face of the areas of Israel population concentration? Therefore in my estimation Jordan will be the next link, and the Israelis do not conceal that at all.

[Question] Do the Arabs have a plan for coping with the emigration of the Palestinians?

[Answer] Of course no one will voluntarily agree to leave his country. People can tolerate occupation and they can tolerate abuse, but they must have a source of livelihood. The Arabs so far have provided a great deal for the Palestinians and for the perseverance in the Bank and Gaza. They can carry out projects for schools and universities to attract people to their territory. Otherwise, they are human beings, forced to look for a livelihood to guarantee a living for themselves and their children. The Palestinians in 1948, after the Dayr Yasin massacre, left their country, but after 1967, though they knew that Israel would be brutal and would kill, they stayed in their areas. However, this perseverance must be supported. The issue of the Bank and Gaza is an urgent one for Israel now; they are part of what could be considered the body of Israel, and in addition the demographic problem is Israel's prime preoccupation. In Israel 40 percent of the country's population is Arab now. The number of Arabs in the Bank and the Strip and on the territories occupied since 1948 is about 1.9 million, as compared with 3.2 million Jews. When they looked at the long-term future, they were afraid that the population equation would shift to their disadvantage, in view of

the Arabs' higher rate of population increase. From this premise, if the Arabs use what is called Israeli democracy, if they do not take power they will become a necessary link in decisionmaking and Israel will not be a purely Jewish state.

#### Labor Policy

[Question] Does that mean that the policy pursued by the Labor Party, if it returns to power, will not essentially be different from the policy of the right-wing Likud?

[Answer] In my opinion, the Labor Party, which ruled Israel for about 30 years after Israel was established, drew up its borders, and remained loyal to the Zionist theory in the establishment of greater Israel, is much more dangerous than the Likud Party. The Likud Party is obvious. Jabotinsky, the leader and founder of the party and leader of what were called the correctionists, told the Jews "We must be clear with the Arabs and tell them that we want Palestine, the east of the Jordan, and parts of Lebanon and Syria, and that is our country, whether they like it or reject it." The Labor Party, however, says the same thing but after covering it up, and without being frank. It tries to achieve the same goals. In my opinion, the obvious enemy in a transaction is better than the enemy who engages in trickery and hides behind brilliant slogans. There are Arabs who believe that if the Labor Party returns to power it may perhaps offer some concessions here and there. In my estimation, that is not so; the Labor Party, in the early sixties, assigned Chaim Herzog, the current president of Israel and the chief of intelligence at that time, to study the possibilities of occupying the West Bank and the possibilities of settling it. He in fact carried out the study at the head of a large apparatus and submitted a plan of action for occupying it and administering it immediately. Thus the occupation of the West Bank was a real possibility as far as Israel was concerned since the early sixties, and the people who were behind it were the leaders of the Labor Party.

[Question] However, do you, as a student of the situation inside Israel, believe that Shamir will continue on as the prime minister? Won't he be compelled to hold premature elections that he could lose?

[Answer] He will continue on. Israel is indeed currently facing an economic crisis, and it has been facing that crisis since it was established. However, it depends on American aid and, until a few weeks ago, up to the withdrawal to the al-Awwali River, the Israeli government had been facing a domestic uproar over the large number of casualties and the losses in Beirut and the al-Shuf as a result of military operations, before the resistance retreated in the direction of Tripoli. After the noise died down, there were no longer any reasons for Shamir to withdraw; he has been applying the same policy which the Labor Party could have applied, especially after the retreat to the borders of the al-Awwali River. Therefore I believe that Shamir will continue on and that coming elections will not be held. Even if they do take place, in my estimation the Likud will return to power, because the majority of the votes of the Oriental Jews (about 80 percent) goes to the right, and, since the number of these Oriental Jews is growing rapidly, the key to Israeli policy is now in their hands, in the context of the ballot

box. They are the ones who most believe in the need to use violence and cruelty against the Arabs. There is a contradiction which drives them to do so.

1. They suffer different forms of discrimination and mistreatment from Western Jews.

2. They are reacting out of regret over leaving their homes and countries in the Arab world, and make the Arabs bear the responsibility for this departure.

The Palestinians and the American Solution: Harold Saunders to AL-MAJALLAH: The Palestinian Acceptance of the Solution Means Acceptance of Organizational Partitioning

In the recent transformation the Palestinian arena has witnessed, American officials in Washington see a clear sign of the possibility of establishing a unified Palestinian nation with Jordan, on a federal basis, under the leadership of Yasir 'Arafat. By way of contradiction, Washington considers that Syria, under the leadership of its president, Hafiz al-Asad, provided the key which made it possible to revive the Reagan initiative and free 'Arafat's hand to seek the diplomatic solution which he had long yearned for in the past.

President Reagan, in a television interview, pointed out that the amiable discussions 'Arafat held with the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak, after which he remarked to press correspondents that he would demand the agreement of the Palestinian National Congress to establish a Palestinian government in exile, had revived hopes of a revival of the American initiative which Reagan launched on 1 September 1982.

As to whether the United States was prepared to exchange ambassadors with that government, that would depend without the least doubt on the Palestinian government's readiness to endorse the principle of coexistence with Israel. However, on the other hand, the more ambiguous that government's goals and hopes ultimately are, the better that is for its interests, since observers agree that Reagan will not go beyond his commitment to the establishment of a federal union with Jordan, although policymakers and decision-makers implicitly acknowledge that the problem of the survival of such a federation, or its split into two countries along the lines of what happened with Singapore and Malaysia, will in the future depend on the parties concerned. The federal union, they observe, was only a formula whose purpose was to limit Israeli opposition to the union, although it did have some significance, because it would offer protection to the weakest party in the region, or the one most exposed to danger, the state of Palestine, through Jordanian protection as a result of the federal link.

Another matter which is currently stirring up discussion is the way in which Syria can be persuaded to reduce its opposition toward the Reagan initiative and consequently its cooperation as regards a joint Syrian-Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon can be obtained. Since Israel's [sic] obvious demand is the revival of American opposition to Israel's occupation of the Syrian Golan



Heights at the same level on which Washington is objecting to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (and previously Sinai), it therefore demands that some formula be found to persuade President al-Asad that Washington still would prefer that Israel withdraw from the Golan Heights.

Many American officials have observed, in private gatherings, that Israel prefers that there be an extremist organization, because that has the effect of making it easy to mount an opposition to it, in accordance with Western standards, and because Israel in reality prefers confronting Palestinian guerrillas to confronting Palestinian negotiators. "The Israeli reaction was expected," said Harold Saunders, who formerly was the right-hand assistant to Henry Kissinger in matters related to Middle Eastern affairs and is now working as a researcher in the Brookings Institution. Saunders informed AL-MAJALLAH that the recent developments would have the effect of "at least theoretically helping find a solution to the problem." He said, "If the higher command of the Palestine Liberation Organization decides to accept some solution, it must also accept dissension and disputes in its ranks. However, it appears that the disputes already were there, since everything now depends on the way in which 'Arafat interprets his new freedom and whether that indeed means that he has absolutely no need now to have a complete consensus behind himself and supporting him. That sort of option was available to him when he left Beirut last summer, and when he talked to King Husayn, the Jordanian monarch, but he chose not to risk fragmenting the ranks of the Liberation Organization."

Saunders believes that some time must pass before one can judge whether the groups that split off from 'Arafat and the FATAH rebels, whom Syria is supporting, are the only rivals who will oppose a settlement to the Palestinian cause that can be reached through negotiations. However, it seems that 'Arafat has clarified his goals, as Saunders says. His meeting with Mubarak, which will have the effect of helping Egypt regain its respect in the Arab world, "arises from a real desire to try to find a new base from which negotiations can be launched." In addition, the views he will bring to the Algiers meetings next February will be clearer after his meeting with King Husayn, as Saunders also states. He goes on to say, "Even though most Palestinians are on his side, I frankly do not know the reason which prompted him to pull back last April and avoid compelling the Liberation Organization to allow him to deal through King Husayn. There is perhaps still some strong resistance over principles within the organization."

Saunders shares the American State Department's opinion that the main danger which continues to threaten 'Arafat now is the problem of his exposure to assassination and liquidation, but, as Saunders observes, he lived with danger bravely over the past 2 decades.

Saunders believes that 'Arafat, and the leadership of the Liberation Organization behind him, must now reaffirm the declaration previously issued by the Palestinian National Congress on the question of coexistence with Israel with as little obscurity and ambiguity as possible. That will have the effect of stirring up the same tempest of support among ordinary Israelis as al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem did in the past, and consequently of reducing



the number of "hawks" that exist in the Israeli government, which is exactly what al-Sadat did.

"In spite of everything," Saunders observes, "the Palestinian National Congress has taken a position which has reached the point of coexistence with Israel." However, he added, he hesitates to be totally optimistic, "although we now have more raw material for acting than at any time in the past, now that the dialogue between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat started last spring, which stimulated hopes at that time." Saunders agreed that the fact that al-Asad is the factor which is helping launch the Reagan plan and proceeding with it toward execution is to be considered in itself a kind of new departure, but he observed that "President al-Asad still believes that he has the opportunity to block the road to any new initiative."

In another area, the deputy secretary of state, Kenneth Dammm, who is a friend of Shultz's, who chose him himself, raised the same points when he addressed another group of Jews. He stated, "A full, real peace is our objective, not a fraudulent peace which looks out from behind barbed wires, barriers, and military fortifications." He also called on Israel to accept direct negotiations. After he had reiterated the United States' support of Resolution 242, Dammm said that the Reagan initiative "would provide Israel with an excellent opportunity to respond to its long-term security requirements through agreements, rather than through military force alone. However, Israel has not ventured to take the opportunity."

#### The Outlines

Damm read out numerous statements issued by Reagan specifying the outlines of the policy and guidelines and directives. Most important of these were:

"It is possible to settle the Arab-Israeli dispute by trading land for peace."

"The United States will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and it will not support the annexation of this territory by Israel, or support having it placed under Israel's permanent supervision."

"The inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will have full sovereignty over their own affairs."

"The United States will not support the exploitation or use of any portion of additional land for the purposes of establishing settlements during the transitional period. The construction of more settlements is in no way essential for the security of Israel."

"Autonomy for the Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in participation with Jordan will offer the best means for realizing a permanent, just peace."

"The city of Jerusalem must remain united. However, its ultimate status must be decided through negotiations."

The United States hastened to blame the Israelis and Palestinians for not engaging in direct contacts between themselves, but what is the scope of the channels of communication which Washington is maintaining with the Palestinians?

Officially, the United States has no relations or contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization, but the organization has an active office in Washington, and there is another one belonging to the Palestinian delegation in the United Nations, which any American official can contact except for people at the rank of ambassador or above. The contacts with the Liberation Organization through certain American agencies are fully known. An American official mentioned to AL-MAJALLAH that the American embassy in Beirut was under the protection of the Liberation Organization from 1975 until the Palestinian resistance left Beirut in the summer of 1982. That was also the case with the Commodore Hotel, the center of most American newsmen.

The Palestinians working in the American embassy always kept the American ambassadors who succeeded one another in service there informed about the thinking of 'Arafat and his other comrades, under the auspices of 'Arafat himself. Their constant comings and goings were always evident to anyone visiting that embassy's building. The Palestinian informants were also considered a valuable source on the subject of developments taking place on the political stage in Lebanon and other countries.

An American official mentioned that it would not have been possible for anyone to blow up the headquarters of the American embassy in Beirut had the Liberation Organization still been in Beirut, and not left it: "They would either have prevented that or warned us in advance, or both. The Liberation Organization's departure from Beirut was considered a great catastrophe for us, as far as information goes. With everything that is going on in Beirut today, we are in urgent need of help and assistance. The information we receive from Israeli sources is 75 percent at variance with the actual situation."

That all indicates that some American agencies are able to follow up on internal Palestinian diplomatic activity from close at hand. It also indicates that they have strong working relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization and they can shift to open, overt diplomacy as soon as the orders issued "from above" change and once hypocrisy ceases to be the philosophy of the day.

The Palestinians and the Soviets: Moscow: There Is No Palestinian Leadership without 'Arafat

Since the recent events between the Palestinian organizations in Trioli, the dispute between the Syrian and Soviet leaders on their positions regarding Mr Yasir 'Arafat's command of the Palestine Liberation Organization has become apparent. Damascus considered, and still does consider, that Abu 'Ammar is heading the Palestinian organization in a "capitulationist" direction which will end with agreement over the Reagan settlement plan and an opening toward the Egyptian regime, in spite of Arab and Palestinian unanimity that

such an opening up should be delayed, as one waits for the Egyptian leadership to turn away from the course of Camp David. However, Moscow has insisted on considering that 'Arafat is the legitimate leader of the Liberation Organization and that he should be dealt with to the exclusion of others.

Abu 'Ammar has left Tripoli, as the Syrians wished. His first political stop, which caused a shock on the Arab political stage, was Cairo. People who know the Palestinian leader's psychology and way of acting say that the visit to Cairo, which was a surprise to many people, was not a surprise to them, especially in the light of the atmosphere that Abu 'Ammar lived through in Tripoli. These people add that they have information which indicates that that visit was not an "impetuous decision," as some Arab political and journalistic bodies have hinted, but that it was a step that was prepared and planned for, and all of whose reactions were calculated, in advance, and that the Soviet Union was not removed or distant from the background and the reasons for Abu 'Ammar's step. Palestinian sources close to Abu 'Ammar say that the Syrian-Soviet dispute regarding the Palestinian crisis involved relations between Damascus and some of Moscow's allies in Eastern Europe, especially Bulgaria and East Germany. This dispute led to Moscow's "understanding" of Abu 'Ammar's recent diplomatic and political steps.

Although the Soviet leadership has not announced an official position on 'Arafat's visit to Cairo and his meeting with the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak, the Soviet media have not ignored this event in their comments. These media, as is well known, convey the official point of view regarding events. On Soviet television, a political commentator criticized the Palestinian and Arab leaders who attacked 'Arafat for his visit to Cairo. The commentator said, "Whatever comments have been made regarding the visit have reached the point even of contesting the legitimacy of 'Arafat's leadership. The important thing which we must not forget is that this visit does not mean the organization's recognition of the Camp David agreements." The Soviet commentator continued, "'Arafat's departure from Tripoli was a loss for the Palestinian cause. However people's opinions and the reasons and circumstances which surrounded the departure of 'Arafat and his 4,000 supporters might differ, that will not prevent one from saying that that operation was a disaster, on a par with the disaster which befell the Palestinians after their departure from Beirut in the wake of the Israeli invasion."

From this commentary, one may infer that the Soviets have increased their understanding of the Palestinian viewpoint at the current stage. That may be attributed to numerous reasons. However, the most important thing is that the Soviet notion of a Middle East settlement is quite close to the notion that Arab consensus as embodied in the Fez summit resolutions is committed to. The plan the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev declared in September 1982 is close to the plan which the Fez summit approved at that time. This plan stipulates six points: the need for Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the restoration of Arab sovereignty to Jerusalem, security guarantees for all the countries in the region, including Israel, the termination of the state of war between the Arabs and Israel, and international guarantees for the settlement from the Security Council.

Since Brezhnev's plan was announced, the Soviet position has not changed and new views have not been manifested by Moscow as far as the crisis in the area goes. However, observers noted two important points with Andropov's advent to power last year. On the one hand, Moscow has taken the tack of strengthening its political opening toward the Egyptian regime, to the point where there is now talk of the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Egyptians, for their part, have proceeded toward an economic and commercial opening toward the Soviet Union and the countries of the Eastern bloc. The most conspicuous of these steps was the tank transaction Egypt concluded with Yugoslavia, after America had hesitated to respond to its request. On the other hand, an important development has occurred in Soviet-Jordanian relations. Besides the chairman of the Liberation Organization, Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, King Husayn was the only leader to visit Moscow last year, outside the countries in the Eastern bloc. At a time when Moscow was pursuing this "realistic" policy toward Egypt and Jordan, its military commitment toward Syria remained apparent. People close to the Lebanese president, Amin al-Jumayyil, relate that he once asked the Soviet ambassador in Beirut, Alexander Soldatov, about the degree to which Moscow was prepared for a confrontation if Syria was exposed to an Israeli strike. The ambassador's answer was that the Soviet Union was committed to defend the safety of Syria if it was exposed to danger "within its borders" and that that commitment would reach the point of "military intervention, if Syria is exposed to any Israeli attack."

Although observers of the Soviet Union's policy in the Middle East have observed with interest the treaty of friendship and cooperation that was signed with Libya last year, these observers have also noted that that agreement did not commit the Soviet Union to more than "friendship and cooperation," but rather was made in accordance with a request, which reached the point of insistence, from the Libyans, and that it was signed in Moscow by Maj 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud and the Soviet premier, Nikolai Tikhonov. Moscow, through its Arab relations at this stage, is trying to hold onto the cards of peace and military confrontation at the same time. Experts in Soviet politics say that Moscow's policy in the Middle East fundamentally is based on fixed premises:

1. Avoiding a confrontation with the United States and evolution of the Middle East struggle into an international conflict.
2. Commitment to the security of Israel and to guaranteeing its survival within the 1948 boundaries.
3. Benefitting from flaws in American policy and developing relations with the Arab countries when possible.

Proceeding from these bases, the Soviets consider that a peaceful resolution to the Middle East crisis would be preferable and less dangerous than a military one. Although they opposed the Reagan initiative in principle, diplomatic circles close to Moscow report that the Soviet leadership does not oppose the restoration of the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue or the resolutions that sort of dialogue might arrive at. Nor does it oppose the mutual opening up between President Husni Mubarak's regime and the Arab countries,

in spite of its opposition, also in principle, to the Camp David agreement. Diplomats cite as an example of that the steps Moscow itself is taking in this area, proceeding from the fact that there are "differences in kind" that one must observe between the regimes of al-Sadat and Mubarak.

In brief, Moscow is pursuing a realistic policy in the Middle East, in an attempt to hold onto all the cards of the game by opening up to the moderates and the rejectionists at the same time, by diplomatic means or by arms. The basis of this policy is the fact that the Soviet Union has its interests in the region and its role in all peace plans: hence the Soviet insistence, embodied in the Brezhnev plan, that the United States should not be damaged by the solution and that that solution must be in the context and under the care of the United Nations, which dictates Soviet participation in it and blessing for it. Moscow still considers the Geneva conference an exemplary framework for this sort of resolution.

11887

CSO: 4404/306



REPORTAGE ON EXPULSION OF SOVIET DIPLOMATS

Expellees Listed

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 4 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kazi Montu]

[Text] Nine Soviet nationals including six diplomats of the Soviet Embassy enlisted as undesirable by Bangladesh Government left Dhaka yesterday morning on an Aeroflot flight. They were accompanied by their wives and children.

Among them were O. M. Khatanov, Counsellor of the Embassy, Lt. Col. N. V. Lytchak, Military, Air and Naval Attache, I. E. Galouzin, First Secretary, N. D. Kourilov, First Secretary, V. V. Materi, Second Secretary; Akchurine, Specialist, Engineer Afouine, Engineer Alexeev and Alexander I Piven, Area Manager of Aeroflot in Bangladesh.

Khatanov (passport No. 059325) came to Bangladesh on March 3 in 1981, Lytchak (passport No. 057169) on October 20, 1980, Galouzin (passport No. 058297) on December 26, 1980, Kourilov (passport No. 066256) on April 20, 1980, Materi (passport No. 063931) on June 28, 1983, Akchurine (passport No. 422297) on November 5, 1983, Alexeev (passport issued in April 27 in 1981) and Piven (passport No. 566844) in October, 1980.

The Aeroflot flight scheduled for Monday evening that carried them was delayed by approximately 16 hours. It took off Zia International Airport at 9-35 a.m yesterday.

This was the second batch of the Soviet diplomats withdrawn from Bangladesh within a passage of eight days on request of Bangladesh government.

The first batch of Soviet diplomats identified as undesirable by Bangladesh government had left Dhaka on December 26 on regular Aeroflot flight. Their number was five. They were also accompanied by their wives and children.

The first batch included Grouclyetui gueoqui, Consul General of the Soviet Consulate in Chittagong, Eduard Mikhail Schtchoukin, First Secretary Counsellor I. A. Krivogouz, First Secretary, (Cultural) D. I. Romashkin and Alexei Dodov, Assistant Attache.

The Foreign Ministry handed over a list of fourteen Soviet officials including eleven diplomats of the embassy to Soviet Ambassador Valentine Pavlovich Stepenov on December 21 for their immediate withdrawal from Bangladesh.

They were reportedly involved in activities beyond their diplomatic assignment.

The outgoing nine Soviet nationals were seen off yesterday at Zia International Airport by their colleagues including the Ambassador, First Secretary (Press and Information) A. N. Plaskova, Third Secretary G. L. Pospelov and others.

The Soviet diplomats man-handled Ittefaq photographer Mohammad Alam and New Nation photographer Mohsin. Alam was assaulted by one of the outgoing diplomats at the airport tarmac. He had the audacity to threaten Alam saying, "I will break your camera if you take our photographs".

Another outgoing diplomat was about to inflict a blow on Mohsin. Raising his close-fisted right hand he told Mohsin in angry voice, "you know, your country is in tension".

One Soviet diplomat who was at the airport to see off his outgoing colleagues was trying to drag Mohsin towards the security men of the airport. Failing in his bid at the intervention by the Ittefaq and New Nation reporters he asked Mohsin to show his identity card.

The tarmac area of the airport was under tight security. Armed policemen were deployed there in heavy contingents to ensure security of the airport till the departure of the Aeroflot flight.

It may be pointed out that there were 39 diplomats and over 100 employees in the Soviet Embassy. With the withdrawal of eleven diplomats the diplomatic corps of the Embassy has been reduced to 26.

The Foreign Ministry has requested the Soviet authorities to reduce the manpower of the Embassy by 50 per cent.

Meanwhile, the showroom of Soviet industrial exportables at Motijheel Commercial Area has been closed down.

#### Relations at Low Mark

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by Matiur Rahman Chowdhury]

[Text] Bangladesh's relations with the Soviet Union have touched the lowest mark following the expulsions of 14 Soviet diplomats and officials from Dhaka and is likely to remain cold for quite sometime.

Moscow had charged Dhaka for what it said 'unreasonable action' and has refused granting visa to a first secretary appointed to the Bangladesh Embassy in the Soviet Union.

A Bangladesh trade delegation, which was scheduled to visit Moscow this month, had to cancel the tour following Soviet's cold shoulder to it.

Bangladesh ambassador in the Soviet Union M. R. Ahmed came back to the country early this month and the Foreign Ministry later explained that he returned on expiry of his term. Dhaka is yet to name a new ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Bangladesh however has not given any official explanation for its actions--the expulsion of the Soviet diplomats and officials and the order to close down the Soviet Cultural Centre.

Radio Moscow in a hard-hitting commentary, monitored in Dhaka, said Bangladesh's action reflected that it was acting under the guidance of a particular 'reactionary lobby' and was out to please the United States.

There was no logic in the expulsion of the Soviet diplomats, the commentary said and described the action as another step to harm the cause of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Bangladesh.

Radio Moscow was particularly harsh in criticising Dhaka's decision to close down the Soviet Cultural Centre.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh seems to be thinking to recast its trade relations with the Soviet Union. The current barter trade between the two countries are said not to be favourable to Bangladesh.

The barter agreement, renewable annually, was scheduled to be renewed during the now-postponed visit of a Bangladesh trade delegation to Moscow. The delegation was programmed to leave for Moscow on January 14.

Moscow is learnt to have asked Bangladesh government not to send the trade delegation now saying that the 'time is not suitable' for it.

Under the barter agreement, Bangladesh exports mainly jute, jute goods and leather to the Soviet Union while imports cotton, machinery parts and some such other things from the Soviet Union.

According to officials statistics, Bangladesh was scheduled to export 16,000 tons of raw jute and jute goods under the barter agreement during the year's ending next March but so far Moscow has taken only 7500 tons of jute and jute goods--Officials said Dhaka now will have to look for alternate market for the items which used to be bartered with the Soviet Union.

It is understood that Bangladesh's trade ties with some East European countries will also be affected following the disturbance with trade relations with Moscow.

According to official sources the cultural agreement between Dhaka and Moscow is also under review. The cultural agreement was signed in 1972 and till to-date eight Soviet cultural troupes visited Bangladesh but none from Bangladesh toured the Soviet Union.

A Soviet cultural troupe came to Bangladesh in late October last year but left without performing. Bangladesh officials is learnt to have asked the troupe not to perform because the country at the time was badly affected by floods.

The Soviet Cultural Centre in Dhaka, which has suspended functioning since late November last year, will be formally closed down on January 16.

Bangladesh embassy in Moscow is now run by only three diplomats and without an ambassador. The Soviet embassy in Dhaka, on the other hand, will continue to have 27 diplomats even after the departure of the expelled ones.

CSO: 4600/1502

ERSHAD SAYS RESPONSE TO TALKS SATISFACTORY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. General H. M. Ershad on Saturday said he had received "favourable response" from the political leaders to his political programme during first phase of his parleys with them, reports ENA.

The President was replying to the question of newsman at Zia International Airport prior to his departure for Casablanca Morocco, to attend the fourth Islamic summit beginning there from January 16.

The President told a questioner that he was hopeful of restoration of democracy in the country through peaceful means.

President Ershad invited leaders of about 70 political parties to a discussion on January 7 to find ways and means for peaceful transition to democracy in which about 90 leaders of over 40 political parties attended.

Two major alliances--15 party and seven party alliances--however, refused to participate in the discussion with the President before the fulfilment of their demands of restoration of unfettered political activities, release of political detenus and freedom of Press.

Both the alliances in their separate statements, however, said that they were not opposed to discussion but maintained that an atmosphere congenial to such discussion should be created.

Meanwhile President Ershad held group and separate discussions with the leaders of political parties at Bangabhaban from January 8 to 12.

In all eight parties including Muslim League (T. Ali) Labour Party (Matin) Jatiya League KSP (Nanna) Janata Party (Osmany) Tafsili Federation, National Democratic Party Nezam-e-Islam Party (Siddiqui) participated in the discussion with President Ershad.

CSO: 4600/1493



REPORTAGE ON ERSHAD ATTENDANCE AT ISLAMIC SUMMIT

Text of Speech

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19-21 Jan 84

[19 Jan 84 pp 1, 12]

[Text] CASABLANCA, Jan 18--The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen H. M Ershad here yesterday put forward before the Fourth Islamic Summit an 11-point proposal for safeguarding and promoting the political and economic security of the Islamic countries, cables BSS Special Correspondent A.S.M Habibullah

President Ershad explained the salient features of his 11-point proposal which include adoption of a comprehensive programme of action of Palestine, establishment of a conciliation commission to deal with disputes and conflicts between Islamic countries and formation of a political standing committee of the OIC which could be convened at short notice in the event of any emergency or threat facing the Islamic world or any Muslim country

In the economic field, he proposed for undertaking a special action programme for the least developed Islamic countries to assist them in the face of global economic upheaval, establishment of an Islamic common market, increased investment in the Islamic world both in the public and the private sectors and preparation and publication of country profile of the Islamic countries containing basic socio-economic indicators identifying specific areas of cooperation among them and its prospects and opportunities.

Gen Ershad's proposals also suggested for initiating an intensified technical cooperation programme among Islamic countries and centres, establishing diplomatic missions in each other's countries to strengthen relations, opening Islamic universities, centres and institutes of research and according most favoured status to nationals from Islamic countries in those countries where employment of expatriates is necessary

Expressing serious concern at the situation in Lebanon, President Ershad in his speech urged the conference to extend its full moral and material support to the people of Lebanon to achieve national reconciliation and preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Bangladesh, he said, is totally

committed to the just cause of the Palestinian people and 'we shall do every thing possible within our means to help in the struggle for a homeland in Palestine for the Palestinians with Jerusalem as its capital'.

On Iran-Iraq war he called upon both the parties to exercise restraint, he urged the summit to adopt concrete measures to bring this fratricidal war to an end in a just and honourably way

Referring to the situation in Afghanistan, Gen. Ershad said it is an affront to the international community and poses a threat to the security of the entire region. He expressed full sympathy to the plight of 'our Afghan brothers' and extent fully support in their valiant struggle to exercise their right of self-determination and preservation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In this connection, he appreciated the commendable efforts of the UN Secretary-General and his representative for promoting a just settlement of the Afghan problem

Turning to South Africa, the President reiterated Bangladesh's support to each and every move in all international forums in the struggle against apartheid. He assured the Namibian people that the people of Bangladesh share the indignation of the international community for the delay in the implementation of the Security Council resolution and the violation of the General Assembly decree by the racist regime of South Africa

He suggested for adopting measures to strongly support the efforts of the Turkish Cypriots for a constructive and meaningful dialogue with the representatives of the Greek Cypriot community. With a view to establishing a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation in Cyprus where the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the Turkish Cypriot community would be fully respected and protected.

On the economic side, Gen. Ershad said the current crisis in the world economy continues unabated. The unprecedented decline in economic activity has had a disastrous effect particularly on the developing countries whose problems have been further compounded by high interest rates, low commodity prices and acute liquidity crisis, debt servicing problem, a sharp increase in protectionism and a general decline in the economic activity seriously undermining their hopes for improvement in the quality of life of their peoples.

The President said the Islamic world today requires a new kind of statesmanship, a new brand of courage which would rise above narrow parochial interests and respond to the challenge of the time with all the verve, understanding, co-operation and confidence at its command.

Following is the full text of the speech delivered by President Ershad at the 4th Islamic Summit:

Your Majesty, Majesties, Royal Highnesses Excellencies brothers.

Assalamo Alaikum Wa Rahmatullahi Wa Barakatuhu

I bring to you, Your Majesty and to all our brothers from the Islamic world fraternal greetings and good wishes of the people of Bangladesh, this august assembly of the kings and the heads of Islamic states represents the highest forum of the Islamic world. Its position is unique and the contemporary world situation in general and that of the Islamic Ummah and in particular renders this occasion truly historic. I, therefore, deem it a great honour and privilege to be here as the head of the Bangladesh delegation

On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf I should like to express our sincere appreciation for the very gracious hospitality that has been extended to us since our arrival in the brotherly country of Morocco we have been touched by the spirit of friendship and brotherhood of the fraternal people of the kingdom. This historic city of Casablanca no doubt provides an ideal setting for the fourth Islamic summit conference and we shall certainly cherish the memories of the days that we are going to spend here.

It is a great privilege for me to felicitate you most warmly on your election as the Chairman of the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference. Your wisdom and statesmanship, will I am confident, guide this conference to a successful conclusion. We recall vividly the able manner in which you chaired the Al Quds Al Sharif summit committee as well as the Al Quds ministerial committee meetings. Bangladesh considers itself privileged to be associated with your efforts for the cause of the holy city and Palestine. We never forget the monumental role you played in convening the first Islamic Summit conference here in Morocco more than 14 years ago

[20 Jan 84 p 4]

[Text] Following is the remaining part of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H.M Ershad's 11-point proposal tabled at the on going Islamic Summit at Casablanca.

I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to His Majesty late King Khaled of Saudi Arabia and to His Majesty King Fahd Bin Abdul Aziz for their role as the custodian of the hold Ka'ba and the holy city of Medina Munawara as well as in their capacity as Chairman of the third Islamic Summit Conference. The leading role of Saudi Arabia in the Islamic world in promoting Islamic cooperation deserves our highest praise and commendation. The Makkah declaration that was adopted at the Taif Summit Conference will forever remain a symbol of our collective commitment to further the cause of Islam.

I would also like to express a hearty welcome to Brunei Dar-e-Salam as the newest member of the organisation of Islamic Conference.

The presence of His Majesty Sultan Bolkia in our midst is a matter of great joy for us.

I also express my warmest felicitation to His Excellency President Kenan Evren of Turkey and His Excellency President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and brother Yasser Arafat for their election as Vice-Chairman of this important conference.

It was a great pleasure on our part to admit Benin as the 44th member of the organisation of Islamic Conference during the 14th ICFM in Dhaka. I extend my hearty congratulation to His Excellency the President of Benin for his presence among us at this 4th Islamic Summit Conference.

I also take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference as well as the General Secretariat for their valuable contribution to the work of the organisation of Islamic Conference. We firmly believe that the Islamic Secretariat has a vital role to play in fulfilling the purposes of the organisation and we assure the Secretary-General of our fullest cooperation in this regard.

Your majesty, a little over a month ago the 14th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers took place in the city of Dhaka in Bangladesh. In my inaugural address to the conference, while underlining the importance of the need for strengthening Islamic unity and solidarity I attempted to point out the reason why this unity was important for countries such as my own, where Islam had been the prime moving force in determining our political and cultural identities. We had through generations been inspired by our ties with the Islamic Ummah and felt deeply conscious of our common Islamic heritage. Above all it was our sense of faith in our religion, faith in the Almighty and what he had enjoined in the holy Quran that gave us our sense of purpose and meaning. It is our common commitment, faith and adherence to Islam that binds us, one billion Muslims together. The concept of the Islamic Ummah was central to Islam a faith and a way of life that rapidly spread to the four corners of the world centuries ago. Today each one of us is pledged to this common destiny as members of the Islamic Ummah. We are each brothers in Islam. We are bound together by our sufferings and by our achievements. So the almighty has decreed. Our efforts in Dhaka were directed at rebuilding restructuring and revitalising Islamic unity and solidarity. Unless we pledge ourselves to build this unity, to set aside our differences and think about the larger interest of the Islamic Ummah, this organisation of Islamic conference will remain a shadow and our voice, the voice of the Islamic world, will be heeded by no one.

It was thus a matter of great satisfaction for my country, for my people and for me personally that in Dhaka we were able to collectively reaffirm our commitment to strengthen Islamic unity and solidarity. We have every reason to believe that those very constructive and positive steps that were taken at the Dhaka Conference will be further developed at the fourth Islamic Summit Conference. We were particularly gratified that at Dhaka we could adopt the Dhaka declaration on human rights in Islam. In this declaration we reaffirmed the cultural and historic role of the Ummah and we pledged to uphold those noble values which make Islam a universal and progressive religion. The Dhaka declaration on human rights in Islam should serve as a vivid example to the international community of the inherent vitality of our faith, of its pragmatic and enlightened approach to providing a meaningful code of life for all of us.

Your majesty, There is a compelling need today for concrete measures and for urgent and prompt action. The line separating peace and war has indeed become

precarious. The sovereignty and security of small states have been seriously threatened. International relations are increasingly characterised by tension, mistrust and fear.

Your majesty, Too often countries who espouse the cause of disarmament are themselves found escalating the arms race too often those who act as the apostles of peace are found stoking the embers of war. While there has been a conspicuous weakening in the resolve of states to settle their disputes peacefully, there has been an alarming increase in the threat or of use of force. At the same time while the security and sovereignty of smaller states is threatened by coercion and pressure of powerful countries, the latter lack the ability to act collectively to protect themselves. Never before has there been such a contrast between rehtoric and reality, pledge and performance, words and deeds.

On the economic side, the current crisis in the world economy continues unabated. The unprecedented decline in economic activity has had a disastrous effect particularly on the developing countries whose problems have been further compounded by high interest rates, low commodity prices, an acute liquidity crisis debt servicing problems a sharp increase in protectionism a general decline in economic activity seriously undermining their hopes for improvement in the quality of life of their peoples. The goal of a new and more equitable and just international economic order looks as distant as ever Despite a universal recognition of the inter-dependence of the economies of the developed and developing countries the global round of negotiations has yet to get off the ground. Understandably, all these are matters of serious concern that affect the destiny of the majority of the Ummah and mankind tt large.

Your majesty, as we look back to the past in seeking strength, courage and inspiration for the future we must drawn on the vast and limitless treasure of our rich history and glorious heritage. Let us not forget that we are the offspring of a great civilisation and culture which made a far reaching contribution in all fields of human knowledge centuries ago. We have only to recall the contribution of scholars such ts Al-Kindi Al-Farabi Ibn-Sina Ibn Rushd Ibn Arabi or that of Al-Khwarizmi, the father of modern Algebra or Al Battani that pioneer in the field of Trigonometry. Nor can we forget the works of Ibn Ishaq who wrote the biography of the Prophet (SM) and Tabari the author of a universal and encyclopaediac history 'annals of the apostles and King's" spanning the period from the creation to 915 A.D. or Ibn Khaldun whose Muqaddima has been described as the greatest work of its kind.

Long is the list of such brilliant scholars philosophers scientists mathemati- cians and historians who decisively influenced every aspect of human thought and culture during the period of its moral and intellectual stagnation Indeed it has been acknowledged that from a new angle and a fresh vigour the Arab Islamic mind took up the systematic development of positive knowledge which teh Greek had begun and relinquished. It revived the human pursuit of sci- ence. Through the Arab and Islamic and not through the Latin route did the modern world receive the gift of light and power.



Such were the glorious achievements of the Muslims because the pursuit of knowledge was unfettered and the fountain head of inspiration was the Prophet Hazrat Muham mad (SM) and the source of his teachings was the one book the holy Quran.

Your Majesty, for far too long we have been the victims of exploitation and plunder, for far too long we have suffered domination and despair. Yet regrettably we have not heeded the lessons of history, dissension still stalks our ranks. We are a house divided against itself which has witnessed tragic fratricidal war resulting in unnecessary loss of men and material which could be usefully deployed for the larger cause of the Ummah. This cannot be allowed to continue any more. We have unrivalled resources and riches and together the Ummah could play a prominent role in the affairs of nations. Thus more than ever before the Islamic world today requires a new kind of statesmanship, a new brand of courage which would rise above narrow parochial interest and respond to the challenge of the times with all the verve, understanding co-operation and confidence at its command. The task is by no means easy, each one of us have a commitment, and obligation, none of us can remain detached nor can we afford to remain uncommitted. For this we have to forgo our differences and forge unity in our ranks. We have to adhere to the tenets of Islam and emulate the principles and precepts of the great Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (SM).

You Majesty, no event in recent times has preoccupied our attention as much as the question of Palestine. The tragedy of Palestine is the tragedy of our times. It is the most poignant reminder of how alien immigrants in connivance with vested interests transformed an essentially negligible indigenous minority to a predominant and repressive majority through control of land, labour and citizenship laws. This century has seen a great many upheavals, but in terms of death destruction and human suffering there are few parallels to the Palestinian tragedy. It is now universally recognised that the crux of the problem is the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people including their right to establish a state of their own with Jerusalem as its capital. It is however regrettable that Israel defiantly continues to flout the decisions and resolutions of the U.N. and persists in her illegal occupation of Arab lands including the holy city of Jerusalem. The highly volatile situation in the Middle East must be defused and peace established in the region through the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the illegally occupied Arab lands including Jerusalem.

[21 Jan 84 p 4]

[Text] Following is the concluding part of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H.M. Ershad's 11-point proposal tabled at the on going Islamic Summit at Casablanca

Your majesty, the Palestinian people will not forever accept suffering and anguish as an inexorable part of their destiny. It is not an immutable law of God that they should perennially suffer shame and indignity, degradation and persecution. They cannot forever be the objects of charity, mercy and sympathy. We are proud of their courage and endurance and are confident that

In-shallah victory will be their's My government is totally committed to the just cause of the Palestinian people and we shall do everything possible within our means, to help in the struggle for a homeland in Palestine for the Palestinians with Jerusalem as its capital.

The situation in Lebanon is a matter of serious concern for all of us. We condemn the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and all the atrocities committed by the Israeli authorities. We would urge this conference to extend its full moral and material support to the people of Lebanon to achieve national reconciliation and preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We are equally aggrieved by the fratricidal war between Iraq and Iran. It was brought pain and suffering, death and destruction to the people of both the countries. We would call upon both parties to exercise restraint and urge the Summit to adopt concrete measures to bring this cruel war to an end in a just and honourable way. I would like to state quite emphatically that so long as this war between two brother nations continues, the Islamic world will not prosper. Each one of us present in this assembly must pledge himself to work for the end of this war. There can be no better way of determining our moral fibre or gauging our commitment to unity and solidarity. We pray to the Almighty to show us the way, we pray to the Almighty to impart to all of us understanding and compassion so that we may end this cruel war.

The search for peace continues in Afghanistan while the people face the ordeal of occupation. The situation in Afghanistan is an affront to the international community and poses a threat to the security of the entire region. We fully sympathise with the plight of our Afghan brothers and extend them our full support in their valiant struggle to exercise their right of self-determination and for the preservation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this connection, we highly appreciate the commendable efforts of the UN Secretary-General His Excellency Javier Perez de Culler and his representative for promoting a just settlement of the Afghan problem.

With regard to South Africa, in keeping with the teachings of our faith which does not discriminate between man and on the basis of colour or race, we would like to assure the struggling people of South Africa that we condemn the policy of apartheid which we consider to be a crime against humanity. We would continue to support each and every move in all international forum in the struggle against apartheid. We would like to see in South Africa the establishment of a society where all the citizens are equal and irrespective of race, colour or creed enjoy full civil, political and other rights.

We would like to reassure our brothers in Namibia that we share the indignation of the international community that the implementation of Security Council resolutions No. 435 (1978) has been delayed for long and the decree No. 1 of the General Assembly has been violated by the racist regime of South Africa. We believe that the independence of Namibia cannot be linked with other extraneous issues and that all measures are taken for Namibia's independence without any further delay.

This conference has always taken a keen interest in the affairs of the Muslim minorities the world over. We, therefore, cannot turn a blind eye to the situation of the Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. We would urge that this conference adopts measure to strongly support the efforts of our Turkish Cypriot brothers for a constructive and meaningful dialogue with the representatives of the Greek Cypriot community with a view to establishing a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation in Cyprus where the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the Turkish Cypriot community would be fully respected and protected. We were gratified to see that the 14th ICFM at Dhaka responded in a constructive, positive and sympathetic manner in helping our Turkish and Cypriot brothers.

The need for the establishment of the international economic order has never been greater. Consequently, the need for a simultaneous integrated and coherent approach to global problems remains as necessary as before. The fact of interdependence of the economies of the north and the south makes it imperative that the global round of negotiations are launched immediately. The prevailing system has shown itself to be quite inadequate in meeting the complex problems of our times. The whole process of development has consequently been drastically slowed down. While international trade has seriously suffered the global monetary and financial situation has become highly precarious. We need to restore confidence in our economic relations and build a rational system that can meet our present day requirements. We should begin by preparing the ground for an international conference on money and finance for development. Parallel to this we should launch global negotiations and also adopt a set of immediate measures to reactivate our economies.

Perhaps what is most essential of all is to strengthen economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves. In this context we attach in Bangladesh the highest importance to developing a meaningful set of programmes within the frame work of the OIC. We were gratified that at Dhaka we were able to adopt a number of precise decisions which would facilitate this task as we see economic cooperation among ourselves develop; it will also facilitate the task of strengthening our unity and promoting collective self-reliance which is so important in helping to preserve our independence and sovereignty and safeguard our security. Economic cooperation among Islamic countries is our life blood. We would like to see the OIC pursue the implementation of various economic programmes relentlessly and vigorously. At this summit let us apply ourselves in right earnest to consolidating and strengthening economic cooperation. I am convinced that this economic cooperation will not only bring us greater prosperity but will have a major political impact. Moreover; we would in a practical way; have given meaning and expression to the teachings of Islam above all to the concept of social justice and human dignity

Your Majesty, the world today stands on the edge of a precipice, disaster stares us in the face. This senseless arms, race both nuclear and conventional, continues unabated draining away scarce resources. The annual expenditure on arms has now reached a staggering 800 billion dollars in the meantime the number of people living in abject poverty has climbed to one billion. One out of every four persons on this earth goes to sleep hungry, without shelter covered by only a few rags. It gives me no pride or joy to say that a substantial number of these down trodden people, Gods children, our children are

to be found in the Islamic world. What law of nature is it that decrees that you must learn to kill and maim and wreak havoc, while children die of hunger and malnutrition We must pledge to end this madness. Let the voice of this summit conference be heard loud and clear in support of general and complete disarmament

Your Majesty I have spoken at great length about the need for strengthening Islamic unity and solidarity. I believe it is essential that this summit conference looks at precise ways in which we can do so. It is in this psirit that I wish to place before this august assembly the following proposals to safeguard and promote the political and economic security of the Islamic countries:

1. This summit should adopt a comprehensive programme of action on Palestine on the basis of the recommendations of the Jerusalem Committee as well as the decisions of the recently, concluded international conference on Palestine in Geneva. All of us should be associated with the implementation of this programme and seize every opportunity to propagate the ustness of the Palestinian cause and highlight the need for action to rectify the wrongs that have been done. 2. A conciliation commission at the summit level should be established to deal with disputes and conflicts between Islamic countries This is not a new proposal, we have proposed this in the past The Islamic world cannot sit helplessly while brothers fight. The OIC must be actively involved in preventing conflicts, in promoting understanding and helping each other resolve our difficulties.

3. A special action programme for the least developed Islamic countries should be set up to assist those countries affected most by the global economic upheaval. And in this context, particularly bearing in mind the desperate situation in the Sahel a food security system for the Islamic world should be established without delay

4. We should initiate an intensified technical cooperation programme among Islamic countries and centres such as the Islamic centre for Technical and Vocational Training and Research being set up in Dhaka should be fully utilised

5 For promoting trade between Islamic countries, we should each try as far as possible to give preferential treatment to importing goods from each other and provide wherever possible insurence and re-insurence credit facilities to encourage such mutual trade.

6. Prepare and publish country profile of the Islamic countries containing basic socio-economic indicators identifying specific areas of cooperation among them and its prospects and opportunities. We must each know what the other can offer. We must learn to identify the areas of mutual benefit and advantage. This should be followed up with the preparation of a compendium of the needs and potentialities of the Islamic world by the year 2000 A.D.

7. Accord most favoured status to nationals from Islamic countries in those countries where employment of expatriates is nexessary. This is a vital area



of cooperation. We must help each other to develop this cooperation further in a systematic and organised manner.

8. Special efforts should be made to promote and increase investment in the Islamic world both in the public and private sectors. In this connection, Islamic countries should undertake the establishment of an Islamic development investment authority or corporation. The Islamic Development Bank should in the meantime be expanded to provide greater assistance to the private sector and should also provide soft loans to the least developed Islamic countries.

9. Establish Islamic Universities/Islamic centres and institutes of research in the Islamic countries for promoting the study of Islamic history and culture and to enable a wide and proper dissemination of information about our Islamic heritage. We should closely associate ourselves with the different cultural programmes and activities of the OIC. Each Islamic country should establish at its own expense an Islamic cultural centre. We should collectively establish Islamic cultural and information centres and mosques in all other major cities of the world. The OIC must involve itself fully in this exercise. It is essential that there is a proper understanding of Islam of the Islamic way of life and of our collective efforts within the framework of the OIC. We should strongly resist the false propaganda against Islam.

10. We should establish diplomatic missions in each other's countries, to strengthen relations, to know more about each other to understand each other's problems and preoccupations and see how we can help each other. While I certainly welcome the opportunity of meeting my fellow heads of state and Government here in Casablanca, we must also try and visit each other more frequently to personally spearhead this important task of knowing each other better.

There can be no better way of promoting unity and solidarity.

11. My eleventh and last proposal is perhaps the most urgent of all. We have carried out extensive discussions about the need for a political standing committee of the OIC which can be convened at short notice in the event of any emergency or threat facing the Islamic world or any Islamic country. Such a committee can also impart valuable guidance to the OIC Secretary-General and oversee the implementation of the decisions of the annual conference of Foreign Ministers and of the summit conferences. The need to strengthen the OIC Secretariat and put it on a firm professional footing has become essential. We have now a very elaborate programme of action in the political economic information cultural and administrative spheres. We must ensure that the OIC is provided with machinery, finance and personnel to undertake this task.

Your Majesty,

We have come a long way since the first Islamic summit was held in 1969. We have solid achievements to our credit but we cannot rest complacent since a great deal more has to be done. We are now at this point, at the crossroads of history. We are faced with formidable challenges--forces that threaten our unity and solidarity, progress and development. All of us have to act in concert since we are all involved. We have a glorious past and I am confident



with faith in Allah and His Prophet (SM) and unity in our ranks, we shall be able to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the Ummah. May Allah crown our efforts with success.

The believers are but  
A single brotherhood  
So make peace and  
Reconciliation between your  
Two (contending) brothers,  
And fear Allah, that ye  
May receive mercy.  
(Sura Hujarat 10)

#### Debate on Egypt

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] CASABLANCA, Jan. 18--Bangladesh has supported the reentry of Egypt to the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) the proposal to persuade Iran to join the conference besides extending unqualified support to the cause of the Palestinians, reports BSS.

While intervening the debate on the question of reentry of Egypt to the OIC proposed by the Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure last night President Ershad told the Summit conference that Bangladesh echoed the--"voice of my (President) colleagues" in the OIC

Sharing the concern expressed by the member-state on the question of Iran's absence President Ershad told the Summit that he fully supported President Dekou Toure's proposal to send a delegation to Teheran to persuade her to join the conference.

President Ershad also said if sending of a team to Iran is not possible "a suitable appeal" be made to Iran on behalf of the summit from the chair for joining the conference.

The President reiterated categorically Bangladesh's unqualified support to the Palestinian cause and paid respect to Yasser Arafat whom the people of Bangladesh considered as the leader of the PLO

President Ershad told the Islamic leaders that the flag of Muslim Egypt was flying in this Hall (Casablanca Royal Palace). The flag represented Egyptian people and the Egyptian nation. Referring to the suspension of Egypt he said he believed that "We have no right to extend this suspension". When Egypt was barred from taking seat here it did not withdraw recognition of the Egyptian people or the Egyptian nation. This is a point we must keep in mind during our discussion on this subject Gen. Ershad said.

The President drew the attention of the summit to the fact that almost all the OIC members shared their membership with Egypt at the United Nations its various agencies and at Non-aligned Movement". We do not find any difficult

with regard to our mutual relationship at these international forums. Why then do we stumble here" he asked.

President Ershad said as far my country is concerned we have mentioned our diplomatic relations with Egypt at the ambassadorial level throughout despite the contradictory situation arising out of Egypt's absence from the OIC.

He said we are therefore very anxious that this contradiction be resolved in a spirit of tolerance and moderation.

He said that he had no doubt that in the supreme interest of Islamic solidarity and unity, we shall continue to discuss this very important issue under your (King Hassan) dynamic leadership notwithstanding the differences of opinion which are apparent, which my delegation and I fully respect".

President Ershad told the conference that an "honourable and mature solutions "to this problem (Egypt issue) must be found out. The responsibility which solution rests squarely on our shoulder" he added.

He said let us not turn to others for help when in fact we can help ourselves in this very summit". Referring to Iran's absence Gen. Ershad said that he shared the concern expressed by the President of Guinea and Pakistan.

President Ershad categorically reiterated Bangladesh's unqualified support to the Palestinian cause and the "great respect and esteem in which our people hold brother Yasser Arafat as the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation."

Concluding his intervention President Ershad said "In Bangladesh our people are trying their hearts out, for Islamic unity, and it is my sacred duty to convey the voice of the 90 million Mussalmans of my country to the conference. It is a voice which rings out clearly our message that we must unite, the Allah is great. Allah-o-Akber"

#### Press Conference on Return

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 22 Jan 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M Ershad said in Dhaka on Saturday that the fourth Islamic summit concluded in Casablanca on Thursday last was fruitful in consolidating further the Islamic Ummah reports BSS.

He was talking to newsmen on return from the summit which he said had taken some important decisions on political economic and cultural issues.

Gen. Ershad who led the Bangladesh delegation at the summit, also performed Umrah at Makkah Al-Mukarrama on way back home. Begum Raushan Ershad who accompanied the President also performed Umrah.

Preident Ershad pointed out that in view of the vexed problems of the Islamic world, the conference had to be extended by a day.

The CMLA said that on behalf of Bangladesh he had put forward before the summit some pragmatic measures for promoting the cause of the Islamic Ummah. The Bangladesh proposals in economic and cultural fields he added were appreciated by the member-states

The president said the fourth summit had decided to put in renewed efforts to resolve bilateral problems between brotherly countries. In this context he pointed out that the summit had made a fresh appeal to put an end to the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq.

Gen. Ershad said Bangladesh had supported the re-entry of Egypt to the Organisation of Islamic Conference which was acclaimed by the conference.

President Ershad said the fourth summit had endorsed the Dhaka Declaration on Human Rights in Islam. The conference, he added had also praised Bangladesh's view points on issues like the Middle-East Palestine Al Quds Al-Sharif Afghanistan Iran-Iraq War Cyprus and Namibia.

He said the summit had made an appeal to the Muslim countries to extend necessary financial support to expedite the establishment of the Islamic University in Bangladesh.

The CMLA said during his stay in Casablanca he had talks with some leaders separately including the President of UAE President of Pakistan President of Senegal and PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

Replying to a question on the shifting of the election of the OIC Secretary General, the President said the next Islamic Foreign Ministers meeting in Sana will decide the issue since it is a matter to be decided by the Foreign Ministers, the summit referred the issue back to them.

He told a questioner that "Bangladesh is very much in the run for the post and we are optimistic."

Gen. Ershad said in the absence of Iran at the summit Bangladesh and other Muslim countries had put united efforts for the end of the Iran-Iraq war.

Asked on the recent actions against the Soviet diplomats, the CMLA said, "We had taken the decision as we had some thing to say against them we have enough evidence what they did here."

Earlier, on arrival at the airport, President Ershad was received by DCMLAs-- Rear Admiral M. A. Khan, and Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud Ministers, diplomats and high-ranking civil and military officials.

CSO: 4600/1498

INDIAN LEADERS GREETED ON REPUBLIC DAY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Jan 84 pp 1, 16

[Text] President and CMLA Lt General H M. Ershad has sent a message of greetings and felicitations to Mrs. India Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India on the occasion of the Republic Day of India reports BSS.

In his message the President said, "On behalf of the Government and the people of Bangladesh and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency our warmest greetings and felicitations on the occasion of the Republic Day of India. It is a matter of gratification that relations between Bangladesh and India are characterised by understanding friendship and cooperation. We are confident that the cooperation between our two countries as well as our common endeavour for promotion of peace and stability in the region will continue to be strengthened in the days ahead to the mutual benefit of our two peoples

"I wish Your Excellency long life good health and happiness and the friendly people of India continued progress and prosperity".

Another report adds: President and CMLA Lt. General H M. Ershad has sent a message of felicitations to Mr. Zail Singh President of the Republic of India on the occasion of the Republic Day of India.

President Ershad said, "On the happy occasion of the Republic Day of India I have much pleasure in conveying to Your Excellency our most sincere felicitations and warm greetings. I am confident that the existing friendly relations between our two countries will be further strengthened and deepened in the coming years.

"Please accept Excellency my best wishes for your good health long life and happiness and for the wellbeing and prosperity of the people of India."

CSO: 4600/1500

TROUBLES FORESEEN AROUND UPAZILLA ELECTIONS

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by N. M. Harun]

[Text] As the presidential dialogue with the responsive political parties is progressing quietly, clouds are gathering on the political horizon on the issue of the upazilla elections.

The much-trumpeted presidential dialogue with the political parties notwithstanding, the upazilla is the pivot round which politics will revolve till the latent but potent issue of participation of the military in the governance of the country comes to the fore directly through constitutional arrangements or indirectly through programmes of government-supporting party or parties.

The upazilla is evidently the crux of the civilianisation process of the government while the mainstream opposition, grouped in the 15-party alliance and the 7-party combine, looks at it distrustfully as a plot to destroy its traditional base, the parliamentary constituency.

So far as the dialogue is concerned, the government has not yet indicated that it would restore the right to open political activities with a view to attracting the 15-party alliance and the 7-party combine to the negotiating table.

Even if conditions are created for these 22 parties to join the dialogue, any meaningful talks or a workable political understanding between the government and the mainstream opposition will depend on their respective positions on the upazilla.

As the situation stands today, the government and the political parties do not have any meeting on the issue of upazilla. And it is an open secret that informal dialogues and contacts between them have foundered on the rock of upazilla; restoration of the right to open political activities is rather a technical matter.

Even if the mainstream opposition joins the dialogue at any stage, any settlement on the issue of upazilla will be very hard to reach.



The government does not apparently need the political parties to complete the upazilla elections scheduled for March 24 next. The political parties do not officially have any role in the local body elections, including upazilla elections. So the government may not be too eager to make concessions to the political parties on the upzilla issue.

On the other hand, while the spectre of upzilla elections stalks the countryside, the mainstream opposition may not agree to come to any workable political settlement bypassing the upazilla issue.

The mainstream opposition is presently thinking aloud about the upazilla elections. If they have been ignoring the other local bodies elections in the sense that they have not taken any formal stand on them, they are likely to take a stand formally on the forthcoming upazilla elections.

And on their attitude towards the upazilla elections will develop the future course of their action. There are three alternatives before them: One, they may treat the elections as so-called non-partisan affair, as they have done in the case of union parishad and pourashava elections. In that case, known political figures at the upazilla level may contest the elections and buttress the strength of their respective parties in election-politics indirectly.

Two, they may choose formally to support candidates in the elections, thus forcing the government to meet them politically. Three, they may decide to ask their people not to participate in the elections. This will mean a boycott movement. If they venture into such a move, the future of not only their political course but also of the civilianisation programme of the government may become uncertain.

Meanwhile, the mainstream opposition is thinking in terms of adopting some low-key action programmes to warm up the political climate. There are possibilities that they will observe the Asad Day on January 20, the Mass Upsurge Day on January 24, the Mid-February Day on February 14-15 and the Ekushey February.

On the other hand, the government is applying the blam of dialogue to diffuse political tension. There is also the election fever all over the country. In a situation like this, the mainstream opposition apparently finds itself swimming against the current.

CSO: 4600/1502

CORRESPONDENT GIVES STATISTICS ON PARISHAD ELECTIONS

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Jaglul Alam]

[Text] After a lapse of seven years, elections of chairmen and members of the country's 4,400 Union Parishads were completed last Tuesday, amid unprecedented public enthusiasm and violence. The last Union Parishad elections were held in 1977.

In all, 19 persons were killed and about 1,100 injured in various incidents of clashes and 40 police firings in different parts of the country during the fortnight-long elections which were held purely on a non-partisan basis in accordance with the government decision. Polling in between 300 and 350 centres were postponed due to unpleasant incidents.

President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. General H. M. Ershad congratulated the newly elected chairmen and members of Union Parishads and said the government was happy that the elections were successfully completed, because these were the first major step forward towards restoration of democracy in the country.

In all 21,477 persons contested for 4,400 posts of chairman while 125,169 persons contested for 39,600 offices of members of Union Parishad. There were 18,173 polling centres and 84,388 polling booths.

The Election Commission have so far spent about Tk. 5.86 crores to conduct the union parishad elections, it is learnt.

In the 1977 UP elections, there were 20,898 candidates for 4,352 offices of chairmen and 119,60 candidates for 39,168 offices of member chairmen and members were elected for a term of five years.

Two persons were killed in Bajitpur Upazilla of Mymensingh on December 29 following police firing.

On January 1, one person was killed at Sreemangal upazilla of Sylhet following a similar incident.

In Gafargaon of Mpmensingh, two persons were killed in police firing on January 2. In another incident, three persons were killed and 20 others were injured when police opened fire at the mob in Patya of Chittagong on January 3.

In Anwara upazilla of Chittagong, one person was killed following police firing on January 5. One person was killed and 10 persons, including 2 policemen and 5 Ansars, were seriously injured in a similar incident at Sitakunda of Chittagong on January 9.

Excepting these cases, the law enforcing agencies personnel had to open fire to control the mob at Rangpur on December 28 (27 rounds); at Kurigram on December 28 (21 rounds); at Betagi of Barisal on December 29 (5 rounds); at Pirojpur on December 29 (9 rounds); at Daudkandi on December 29 (9 rounds); at Gaibandha of Rangpur on January 1 (14 rounds); at Chilmari of Rangpur on January 3 (8 rounds); at Jhalkathi of Barisal on January 4 (9 rounds); at Mathbara of Barisal on January 4 (9 rounds); at Bhola of Barisal on January 6 (5 rounds); at Cox's Bazar of Chittagong on January 7 (10 rounds); and at Chandnaish of Chittagong on January 9 (10 rounds).

According to the existing rules, re-elections will be held in the polling centres where the pollings were declared cancelled by the conducting authorities. According to Election Commission sources, arrangements have already been made to conduct elections in these centres.

The election controversies would be settled by the election tribunals which would be headed by the Munsif in the upazilla or the Sub Judge in the District levels, it is learnt.

CSO: 4600/1502

DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 15 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Democratic League yesterday reiterated that the present crisis could be overcome only by establishing a representatives government through free and fair election.

Presided over by party chief Khondakar Moshtaque Ahmed, a meeting of the central committee of the party held at his Agamosih Lane residence observed that a democratic system would be established by installing an elected government in power on one hand, it would be possible for the elected government having direct support of the people to face external aggression, on the other.

Describing the effort for establishing rights through "understanding as a part of a democratic movement, the meeting said the Jatiya Oikya Front joined the dialogue on January 7 when its demand for minimum political right was accepted.

The meeting termed the Oikya Front decision for overcoming the present crisis through negotiation as correct and timely in order to establish democracy and resist aggression.

The meeting condemned Indian aggression against Bangladesh territory of South Talpatty and called upon the government to take to the international forums the unilateral decisions of India depriving Bangladesh of its due share of waters of the rivers passing through the two countries.

CSO: 4600/1495

PRESIDENT MEETS WITH TWO ISLAMIC PARTIES 25 JAN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Jan 84 pp 1, 16

[Text] President and CMLA Lt. Gen H. M Ershad held talks with two political parties separately at Bangabhaban Wednesday night and discussed with them important national issues, says BSS.

The political parties which met the President are Jamiat-e.Ulemae Islam led by Hazrat Maulana Sheikh Abdul Karim and the Islamic Democratic League (Shafique) headed by advocate Shafiqur Rahman.

The President was assisted in the talks by Home Minister Maj Gen. Abdul Mannan Siddiqui Agriculture Minister Abaid ullah Khan Education Minister Dr. Abdul Majid Khan Establishment Minister Maj. Gen Mahabbatjan Chowdhury and Special Assistant to President A.R. Yusuf.

During the discussion both the parties demanded Islam to be declared as the state religion. The President told them that it is a matter to be decided by Parliament and it requires constitutional amendments Mr. A. R Yusuf told newsmen at the end of the talks

The two political parties demanded "open politics without violence and a Free press".

The Jamiat-e.Ulemae Islam wanted the holding of both presidential and parliamentary elections "at a time" while the Islamic Democratic League (Shafique) demanded the two elections to be held together "on one day" either in May or in November.

The Jahiat-e.Ulemae Islam made some specific suggestions with regard to the role of the Armed Forces in nation building activities.

The party suggested that participation of the Armed Forces should be ensured in development activities and in the economic planning of the country. The chiefs of the three services should remain as ex-officio members of the National Economic Council besides having representation in various development boards and organisations.



There should be one Advisory Committee to help the President perform his responsibility as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. This Committee should comprise, Vice President Prime Minister Finance Minister and three services chiefs.

The Jamiat-e. Ulemae Islam however proposed that there should be no role of the Armed Forces in Parliament running the government and judicial system.

The Jamiat-e. Ulemae Islam demanded immediate ban on anti-Islamic activities and pleaded for setting up a committee with representatives for Ulema and lawyers with a view to formulating Islamic laws for the country.

The party strongly supported the Government's action of expelling the Soviet diplomats and demanded expulsions of others who are interfering in the internal affairs of the country.

It also supported the denationalisation programme of the Government and the decentralisation of Administration.

It said that the future Constitution of the country should enshrine the Islamic faith of Khatme-Nabuat.

The Islamic Democratic League informed the President that the party along with some other organisations would launch a front shortly and meet him (President) again as a front.

The leaders of this party told the President that the missionary organisations with their financial strength alarmingly converting the Muslims of the country into Christianity.

The IDL drew the attention of the Government on the family planning advertisement in radio and television which it said have been causing 'adverse impact' on the children in the family.

Nikhil Bangla Muslim League headed by Principal Raisuddin and Bangladesh Republican Party led by Mr. Waliul Islam (Sukku Mia) are scheduled to meet the President today.

CSO: 4600/1500

TEN PARTIES EXPECTED TO FORM POLITICAL ALLIANCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jan 84 p 8

[Text] A new political alliance comprising ten political parties is expected to be launched soon. In this regard a meeting was held on Saturday at the residence of Shafiqur Rahman of Islamic Democratic League. The meeting presided over by Mr. Shafiqur Rahman was attended by the representatives of 10 political parties, according to a Press release issued by Syed Serajul Huda of the Bangladesh Jatiya Dal.

It was stated in the Press release that the representatives of the 10 political parties unanimously agreed to work under a common political programme. Efforts are also under way to bring more political parties in the proposed alliance.

The representatives of the political parties attended the meeting were, Mr. Shafiqur Rahman and A K Mosharraf Hossain of Islamic Democratic League, Syed Serajul Huda of Bangladesh Jatiya Dal, Mr A S M Abdul Malek of Nikhil Bangladesh Muslim League, Barrister Mr. Abdur Rob of Social Democratic Party, Sheikh Obaidullah-Bin-Syed Jalalabadi of Islamic Biplobi Parishad, Alhaj Mohammed Akil to Nezam-E-Islam Party, Syed Mohammed Shahjahan of Awami Ulema Party, Mr. Oliul Islam of Bangladesh Republican Party, Mr. A K M Shamsul Huda of Liberal Democratic Party, Mr. Ruhul Amin Khan of Janaganatantrik Dal.

CSO: 4600/1493

# EXPORT EARNINGS RISE IN LAST HALF OF 1983

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Exports from Bangladesh during July to December 1983 amounted to Tk. 989.79 crore as against Tk. 751.29 crore during July to December 1982 showing an increase of Tk. 238.50 i.e. 31.75 percent. In terms of dollar, this export earning amounted to US \$406.99 million as against \$328.79 million in July to December 1982 showing an increase of 78 20 million i.e. 23.78 percent says PID handout.

Out of the total export of Tk 989.79 crore, the share of jute sector was Tk. 569.84 crore i.e. 57.57 percent while the share of non-jute sector was Tk. 419.95 crore i.e. 42.43 percent during July to December 1983 as against Tk. 450.65 crore and Tk. 300.64 crore in jute and non-jute sectors respectively during the corresponding period of the preceding year.

The share of traditional items was Tk. 668.57 crore (67.55 per cent) and that of non-traditional items was Tk. 321.22 crore (32.45 percent) in the total export earnings of July to December 1983 as compared to Tk. 518.89 crore and Tk. 232.40 crore in traditional and non-traditional sectors respectively during July to December 1982.

Out of the total export earnings of 989.79 crore during the period under review the share of primary commodities stood at Tk. 364.73 crore and that of manufactured goods at Tk. 625.06 crore i.e. 26.85 per cent and 63.15 percent respectively as against Tk. 300.80 crore and Tk. 450.49 crore respectively during July to December 1982.

As against the average export target of Tk. 875 crore during the period under review the actual export earning stood at Tk 989.79 crore showing an increase of Tk. 114.79 crore i.e. both in the traditional and non- 13.12 per cent. Total earnings traditional sectors exceeded the average target by Tk. 89.07 crore and Tk. 25.72 crore respectively.

Total export from Bangladesh during July to December 1983 in terms of dollar, increased by 23.78 percent as compared to the corresponding period of the last year. Export price index during this period increased by 13.63 percent which indicates that volume-wise relative increase in the export during the period under review was 10.15 percent.

## UNSTEADY SITUATION PREVAILS IN GRAIN MARKET

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hossain Khasru]

[Text] An unsteady price situation prevails now in the foodgrain market at an otherwise stable period of the year in terms of availability and supplies after harvesting of the principal aman crop.

Foodgrain prices have remained under pressure in the open market. Finer and coarse varieties of rice in the open market have gone up by 40 Tk. per maund at the least during the last one month. Grain dealers forecast that prices will continue to be on the upswing for the weeks to come if the supplies from the countryside do not come at an increasing pace. Reports from the interior have indicated a similar uptrend in prices of foodgrains now.

The rising trend in the prices of rice, which is the price-leader in the essentially agrarian economy of Bangladesh, has now offered a fresh cause for concern for the hapless ordinary citizens who have continued to suffer much erosion in the real value of their earnings under price-spiralling phenomena.

The government functionaries have been maintaining that foodgrain production has been quite encouraging this year notwithstanding the effects of the vagaries of nature in the form of flood and draught. Latest official estimate based on the 'actuals' performance during the last monsoon season suggests that the country's foodcrop production would not be short of the target of 161 lakh tons in 1983-84.

### Queer Contrast

The 'encouraging' performance in the foodcrop sub-sector of the economy has, by queer contrast, led now to rising prices of rice in the market. And the rise is disproportionately higher than the upward revision in official prices for international foodgrain procurement operations and the subsequent price adjustments for foodgrains distributed through the rationing system.

The internal procurement prices were revised this year from Tk. 135 and Tk. 210 per maund of paddy and rice to Tk. 144 and Tk. 225 per maund respectively while the ration prices for foodgrains were raised from Tk 5.76 per KG of rice and Tk. 3.89 per KG of wheat to Tk. 6.30 and Tk. 4.15 per KG respectively.

## Procurement

Despite higher procurement prices this year, the actual internal foodgrain operations by the government have so far trailed much behind the targets. Against the target of 2.5 lakh tons for one and a half months' period from mid-November 1983 to December, 1983, only 54,585 tons of rice could actually be procured during the time under report. A total of only 15,000 tons of rice could earlier be procured this year after the harvesting of aus crop against the target of one lakh tons.

The failure to reach the procurement targets seems to bother the establishment not much. The government maintains that procurement operations are mainly purported to offer the farmers (or, to be exact, the farmers with marketable surplus) the fair returns in terms of reasonable prices which are guaranteed by the minimum price floors through the official procurement drive.

Nonetheless, the internal procurement operations have a vital bearing upon the government's food management efforts. The shortfall in internal procurement will of necessity cause the government to look for external sources to build up its stocks at reasonable levels to manage the food sector and to keep the domestic prices within limits through different operations. In the revised food programming for 1983-84, the government set the target of external procurement at 16.5 lakh tons and that of internal procurement at 8 lakh tons to meet the domestic food gap of 10.10 lakh tons and to keep an year-end stock of eight lakh tons.

## Foodgrain Stock

Meanwhile, the government foodgrain stock at the beginning of the current month was about 5.5 lakh tons as against 8 lakh tons around this time last year.

Till December, 1983, external foodgrain procurement stood at 6.5 lakh tons. The current import arrival schedule indicates that another 6.5 lakh tons foodgrains are expected to arrive by February next. The Food Minister went last week to Bangkok to make immediate arrangements to procure lakh tons of foodgrains against cash from Thailand to replenish the depleted the stocks of foodgrains with the government.

## Lower Off-Take

Apropos the current upswing in the price of rice, the official circles have put the blame on lower off-take of foodgrains for food-for-works programme in the countryside over the last one month.

According to a report, the Food Minister had noted that the availability of foodgrains in the market were thus affected by temporary dislocation in activities under food-for-works programme in the rural areas due to the UP elections. He was however confident that some downtrend in foodgrain prices would be recorded after the food-for-works programme was resumed on full-scale.



PAPER REPORTS ENERGY MINISTER'S TALKS IN BEIJING

Dhaka the BANGLADESH TIMES in English 26 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] BEIJING Jan 25--The Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud Now on an official visit to China passed a busy day yesterday in Beijing the day began with a ceremonial reception at the Chinese Air Headquarters reports BSS.

The DCMLA who is also Chief of Air Staff was received at the Air Headquarters by the Commander of Air Force of People's Liberation Army Mr. Zhang Tingfa and was introduced to the senior staff officers of the PLA Air Force. He inspected a smartly turned-out Guard of Honour and had a lengthy and fruitful discussion with the PLA Air Force Commander.

Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud also had a meeting with Mr. Tang Ke Minister for Petroleum and Industry of China. They discussed ways and means for identifying various areas of cooperation in the field of exploration and development of hydrocarbon between the two countries.

The Chinese Minister for Petroleum and Industry assured the DCMLA of his country's co-operation in laying gas pipe line onshore and offshore exploration of petrol and gas setting up of a petro-chemical complex supply of crude at a reasonable price and offered Chinese technical assistance to Bangladesh and identify areas of cooperation.

The Chinese Minister also evinced interest in the establishment of joint venture projects.

Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud also met Madame Qiang Zhenying Minister for water resources and electric power and had an indepth discussion on various areas of cooperation in energy sector.

The Chinese Minister showed specific interest in the development of mini-hydel projects in Bangladesh and also carrying out feasibility study of Shangu Multi-purpose project.

Madame Qiang expressed Chinese willingness in extending technical assistance in new and renewable sources of energy including bio-gas solar energy wind energy geothermal tidal energy etc to meet the growing power demand in

Bangladesh. She also invited Bangladeshi experts to visit China to study possibility of extending Chinese technical assistance.

The DCMLA reciprocated the offer and urged her to send Chinese technical teams to explore cooperation in energy sector.

The discussion also ranged considerably on land erosion and water control and conservancy. Many of the thoughts about new designs on sluices and storage systems also cropped up during the discussions.

Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud invited his counterparts to visit Bangladesh which was accepted by the Chinese leaders with thanks and appreciation.

Admiral Liu Huaqing commander PLA Navy called on Air Vice Marshal at the State Guest House and exchanged cordial greetings. He spoke at length his recent visit to Bangladesh and the charishable memory brought with him.

CSO: 4600/1502

ERSHAD DEPUTY NOTES IMPORTANCE OF DEFENSE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] SYLHET, Jan. 18--Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Chief of the Naval Staff Rear Admiral M. A. Khan reiterated that present government of President Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad attaches due importance to the defence of the country an ISPR Press release said here tonight, reports BSS.

He said that the independence of the country has to be defended at any cost both in peace and war. He further said that foreign, economic and social policies and commitments are important and play their due part for any government but defence commitment is fundamental. He reminded that the first obligation of any government is the defence of the country.

He was addressing the officers at Jalalabad Cantonment Sylhet this morning. He said that Bangladesh deplores the idea of an arms race anywhere in the world and most certainly in the region in which she is situated. Defining the Government's policy further, the Chief of the Naval Staff declared that as a peace loving developing nation spending least per capital income in this part of the world on defence of Bangladesh we will never aggravate the climate of suspicion and distrust around us as we have embarked upon social and economic expenditure programme for our teeming millions who have legitimate and pressing claims on our limited resources.

He declared that our objective is not only to deter the direct use of forces against us but also to prevent any military power from exerting any economic and political pressure on us. He said that Bangladesh Armed Forces today is fully capable to safeguard its territorial integrity and national independence.

The Chief of the Naval Staff said that we strive to ensure security and freedom for ourselves at the least costly level of forces goal which our resources can afford. He declared that Bangladesh Armed Forces is a unique national resources which ensures freedom, protection at all times and renders assistance at the time of national calamities and distress. He said that our freedom loving and patriotic manpower is the basic resources on which the national defence forces of Bangladesh is constituted. He added that armed forces is the symbol of national pride and self confidence. He observed that the contribution of the Bangladesh Armed Forces to the upkeep of national morale is very considerable.

The Chief of the Naval Staff said that for the sake of economic return, we cannot ignore rightful and proper training of our forces so that we may derive optimum utilisation of our investment in men and material. The Chief of the Naval Staff observed that the complexity, range and speed of a modern battle demands that our defence forces should always be fully trained and prepared for national defence at any time.

Chief of the Naval Staff further added our peculiar geographical position as a maritime nation with a vast sea space and the sea providing only link with the outside world makes it imperative for our defence policy to have a harmonious blend between maritime and land strategy. He was happy to see that training imparted in the infantry school here is of very high order comparable to any in this part of the subcontinent. He later on presented a crest of Bangladesh Navy to the school earlier the commandant of the Infantry School received the Chief of the Naval Staff when he reached there.

CSO: 4600/1498

PAPERS REPORT ON PROBLEMS IN FIELD OF EDUCATION

Dhaka Primary Schools

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by S. H. Choudhury]

[Text] Over 60 thousand intending primary school goers are being deprived of an opportunity for education in the Dhaka metropolitan area this year, according to a conservative estimate.

In the metropolis, there are at present 322 government primary schools providing education to nearly 89 thousand students. Another 14 non-government primary schools account for six thousand students.

There are nearly 170 thousand children belonging to the age group of six plus who are eligible to enter school in class one. But in the city primary schools there are provisions for only 50 thousand students in class one. Leaving aside the wards of floating people and madrasah goers, the gap between intending students and the physical provision in the schools has reached almost an unmanageable size.

As a result of the growing population and stagnancy in the growth of city primary schools, guardians have been finding it increasingly difficult to educate their wards in moderately good schools, if not the renowned ones. The magnitude of the problem is apparent from the fact that during admission to the primary schools, the ratio of candidates to the number of seats available is 2:1.

The admission problem has snowballed into a crisis because of negligible growth of primary schools in the country as a whole. While there were nearly 40 thousand primary schools all over the country in 1947, the number is now a little over 45 thousand. In Dhaka metropolis the growth has been far less than the population growth. The population of Dhaka rose from about 1.4 million in 1971 to over 3.5 million in 1983.

In 1978, a handful of kindergarten and tutorial institutions were set up under private initiatives. These institutions flourished right from their inception and now there are 162 such institutions providing education to over 34



thousand students in the city. These institutions, however, are usually expensive.

The scenario in the secondary level of education however, is less alarming in the city where nearly 125 thousand students are receiving education in 21 government and 169 non-government schools.

#### Ershad on Education Policy

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 26 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad said on Wednesday that his Government aimed at building up of an educated young society rich in technical knowledge, as the human resources are the greatest wealth for a developing country.

Inaugurating the grand national conference of Bangladesh Teachers' Association at the Alia Madrasa premises the President said that the future of the youth could be made meaningful only by strengthening the foundation of education, imparting appropriate skills and above all creating more job opportunity for them. The President called upon the people of all walks of life to cooperate with the government in making the programme a success.

President Ershad said that in the coming days education of the country would harmonise knowledge, culture and tradition, technology and religion with principal objective of making it meaningful and realistic.

The inaugural session of the grand conference, one of the largest assembly of teachers, was attended among others by ministers, diplomats and about 15 thousand delegates of the association. It was addressed among others, by Education Minister Dr. A. Majid Khan, Mr. Abdul Mannan and Mr. Abdul Kahleque, President and General Secretary of the association.

The President said that to receive education was the fundamental right of an individual and it was also our national obligation to preserve this right which had also been recognised by the country's suspended constitution. Unfortunately, we have failed in discharging our responsibility and duty during long years after independence. In the past, many commitments were made but little was done. But "we, the present government, can speak firmly prior to completion of two years in government that we have taken specific and effective measures in the education sector," he added.

#### Education Policy

President Ershad said that with a view to reorganising and developing education system, opinions had already been polled from the people on the proposed education policy. A neutral committee comprising teachers representing all level were now analysing information collected so far. The President said that the findings of the committee would be placed at the national conference on education to be held in March and after due scrutiny and consideration the draft education policy would be announced.

President Ershad said that the government has attached special emphasis on such objectives of education as to improve the standard of moral life, acquire knowledge, flourishing of technically rich knowledge and above all preservation and enrichment of our own culture and tradition.

#### Scientific Lab

He referred to the completion of survey conducted on management and facilities available with the secondary schools in the country and said the government has taken steps to set up scientific laboratory and provide furnitures to 2,000 private secondary schools on the basis of this survey. Scientific instruments have been distributed to 1,330 private schools including 130 madrasahs last year and 3,600 more schools will received this assistance during the current year.

#### Fundamental EDN

President Ershad said in order to strengthen the fundamental foundation of education the government has laid special emphasis on the development of primary education so that education can be made universal cheaper and purposerul. With a view to introducing universal education in the country we arranged measures to build more schools and supply text books school dress and educational inputs he said.

Gen Ershad said besides we have taken in hand two welfare-oriented schemes to make education appropriate for national requirements. These are community learning centres and the community schools.

He said the primary schools under community learning centre will serve as focal point for social development where the teachers students and guardians will be able to be educated and undertake coordinate pragmatic development programme. On the other hand he said the secondary schools under the community school programme will serve as focal piont for spreading modern and technical knoledge with the provision of imparting courses in five branches of technical skills. As a result the illiterate youths and dropouts from schools will be able to acquire technical skill for suitable employment.

Gen. Ershad observed that the members of the teaching community are the driving force behind every effort for the advancement of education but regretted that compared to other professions the teachers fell victims to financial constraints more in the post liberation period.

He said that present government is fully aware of the situation facing the education sector and condition of the teachers. He categorically told the conference that the government would establish the teachers in a respectful position in the society.

#### Teacher's Benefit

President Ershad said in order to ameliorate the sufferings of the teachers in private schools the government has already been giving them 50 per cent of

their basic salary and 30 per cent of the total pay as dearness allowance. The government has decided to 60 Taka as medical allowance to them from this month and an additional increment with effect from July this year.

Gen. Ershad said that the government thinks that the facilities that are being accorded to the private school teachers are not adequate and added but we have done what ever was possible within the limited resources of the country. He assured the teachers that economic benefits for the teachers would surely increase in the future. Our desire is not to cut the expenditure in this respect rather to meet the requirements.

The President said that when the government is trying to restore the status and prestige of the teachers it is hoped that they as makers of worthy citizens would work for restoring confidence in the students for a better life.

Turning to the nationalisation of educational institutions President Ershad said such measures are not aimed at nationalising the employees of the institution rather the basic objective behind the programme was to attain overall improvement of education through allocation of necessary funds and increasing the facilities.

In view of this policy he told the conference the government would try to meet the financial constraints of the private educational institutions in the future. Efforts would continue to improve the professional skill of the teachers along with the steps to enhance their salaries and allowances.

Gen. Ershad expressed the hope that the teachers community would not hesitate to make sacrifices to perform their cardinal responsibility in the greater interest of the nation.

Speaking on the occasion Dr. A. Majid Khan said that the fundamental objective of education would be to make education meaningful. He said the government has given top priority to development of education and to establish the dignity of the teachers.

President of the association Mr. Abdul Mannan took a vow on behalf of all teachers to dedicate themselves to the task of spreading education in the life of future citizens. He also mentioned problems faced by the community of teachers.

Mr. Abdul Khaleque General Secretary of the association stressed the need for an uniform education system for the country. He pointed out various disparities prevailing in the system now.

CSO: 4600/1502

BRIEFS

BNP VICE CHAIRMAN--Acting Chairman of BNP Begum Khaleda Zia in exercise of the powers already delegated to her, has appointed former Prime Minister Shah Azizur Rahman senior Vice-Chairman of the party and former Speaker of Jatiya Sangsad Mirza Shulam Hafiz, Vice-Chairman of the party, says a Press release issued on Saturday night under the signature of Publicity Secretary of BNP Barrister Rafiqul Islam reports ENA. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jan 84 p 1]

JAPANESE GRANT--Japan has agreed to provide Bangladesh a project grant of yen 1.15 billion (approximately Tk 11.50 crores) for establishment of a pharmaceutical formulation plant at Bogra under an exchange of notes signed in Dhaka on Thursday between the two governments, says BSS. The grant will be utilized by the Ministry of Health and Population Control for the establishment of a pharmaceutical formulation plant at Bogra during the current fiscal year and for procurement of equipment required for the plant. Japan according to official sources in Dhaka has maintained a steady level of aid to Bangladesh with the signing of this exchange of notes total grant assistance by Japan to Bangladesh amounts to approximately Tk 769.00 crores since 1971. In addition Bangladesh has received approximately Tk 2309.40 crores as commodity and project loan since 1973. The exchange of notes was signed by Mr Shunji Kobayashi Ambassador of Japan in Bangladesh and Mr M K Shams Joint Secretary, External Resources Division, Ministry of Finance and Planning on behalf of their respective governments. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Feb 84 p 1]

GRANT FROM FRG--Under an agreement signed between Bangladesh and Federal Republic of Germany in Dhaka on Wednesday Bangladesh will receive a financial contribution of DM 120 million (Tk. 108 crore approximately) from FRG as grant This is a part of annual bilateral commitment made by the FRG Government for the financial year 1983-84 during the aid negotiation held in Bonn from 21-23 November 1983 between the delegations of Bangladesh and FRG, says a PID hand-out. Mr. M A Syed Additional Secretary, ERD, Ministry of Finance and Planning and Ambassador Baron Von Marschall of FRG signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments FRG Government also committed to provide technical assistance of DM 41.5 million and contribution of food aid of 25,000 tons of wheat for the year 1983-84. The wheat supply has already been made Out of this financial contribution of DM 120 million for the year 1983-84, DM 50 million would be available as commodity aid and DM 70 million as project aid.

The project aid of DM 70 million will be used for Ashugonj-Comilla Power Transmission line, installation of re-active power compensation measures and additional financing for Ashugonj Zia Fertilizer Factory. So far, FRG Government provided DM 2.4 billion for various development projects and food aid. In addition, every year FRG Government offers a considerable number of scholarships for training of Bangladeshi Personnels in Germany and abroad. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 84 p 1]

AGRICULTURAL LOANS--The Government has disbursed a record amount of Taka 677.56 crore as agricultural loans during the fiscal year 1982-83, according to a Bangladesh Bank Press release in Dhaka on Wednesday, says BSS. The loans had good result on the harvest the Press release claimed. Meanwhile, the Government has issued a directive asking all Upazila Nirbahi Officers to take necessary steps and extend assistance to the banks to recover agricultural loans from the current harvest. Farmers who will repay their dues will get loans in future from the banks regularly and promptly. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 84 p 1]

NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR--The new Ambassador of the Netherlands to Bangladesh Mr. Du Marchie Sarvaas Herman Johannes presented his credentials to the President Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad at Bangabhaban, Dhaka on Wednesday, reports BSS. Presenting his credentials, the Envoy said that the relations between Bangladesh and the Netherlands were based on mutual understanding and cordiality and added that he would try his best to promote the relation during his tenure to the mutual benefit of both the countries. The President reciprocated the sentiments of the Envoy and expressed his satisfaction over the existing relations between the two countries. He appreciated the assistance given by the Netherlands in Bangladesh's developmental efforts and assured the Envoy of all Assistance and support during his tenure of service in Bangladesh. Earlier, on arrival at Bangabhaban, the Envoy took the salute by a smartly turned out contingent of the President's Guard Regiment and inspected the guard. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Jan 84 p 16]

TRADE WITH BHUTAN--Bangladesh and India signed a Memorandum of Understanding in Dhaka on Monday outlining the arrangements in the two countries for facilitating [words illegible] Bangladesh and Bhutan, says a PID handout. The Memorandum of Understanding, which will be effective from April 1, was signed by Mr K M Hossain Joint Secretary, Commerce Division, Government of Bangladesh and Mr N N Jha, Joint Secretary Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India on behalf of their respective governments. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Jan 84 p 1]

NEW SRI LANKAN ENVOY--Mr Edwin Tillekeratne has been appointed High Commissioner of Sri Lanka to Bangladesh, reports BSS. He began his career as a planter and later became a member of Parliament in 1961. He was Deputy Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Sports. Mr. Tillekeratne takes keen interest in sports. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Jan 84 p 3]

COAL PRICE REDUCED--The Government has decided to reduce the sale price of coal by Taka 366 per ton, in order to encourage the use of coal by the brick



manufacturers in preference to fire-wood which has been producing devastating effect on the already depleted forest resources of the country, reports BSS. The revised price now stands at Taka 1,732 per ton as against Taka 2,098 per ton in 1982. The new price would be operative with immediate effect, a hand-out said on Monday. Earlier, the system of sale of coal against permits was abolished and anyone could buy any quantity of coal with out any restriction irrespective of whether buyer was a consumer or dealer. In order to simplify the procedure further it has now been decided to suspend the requirement of obtaining dealing licence under the Coal Distribution Order, 1957 which was obligatory for dealers in coal. There is a stock of about 1,45,000 tons of coal in the country which is adequate to meet the requirements for the current brick burning season. The Government dumps where the present stock is available are spread over six stations at Santahar, Ishurdi and Kulaura For the benefit of consumers in the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and neighbouring areas a new dump will be opened at Parbatipur within this month. dzz In view of these measures taken by the Government, it is expected that the brick burners will use coal instead of fire-wood and refrain from depleting the forest resources of the country. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jan 84 p 1

ENVOY TO ZIMBABWE--The government has decided to appoint Syed Muhammad Hussain, at present Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Bangladesh High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, an official announcement said in Dhaka on Thursday, reports BSS. Born on January 8, 1942 Mr. Hussain obtained Master's Degree with Honours in Economics from the University of Dhaka in 1962. He joined the erstwhile Civil Service of Pakistan in 1965 and held number of assignments in various government departments including the post of Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Finance. He served as Labour Attache (First Secretary) in Bangladesh High Commission in London from May, 1974 to February, 1978 and also held charge of Economic and Commercial Counsellor in Bangladesh High Commission in London. Mr. Hussain joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Director in September, 1980, he has been in charge of the West Asia and Africa Desk of the Ministry as Director-General since July 1981. Widely travelled person Mr. Hussain had attended a number of international conference and seminars. He is married and has two sons. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Jan 84 p 3]

NO TALPATTY INCIDENT--The government on Monday categorically denied report of cordoning off a Bangladesh Navy frigate near Talpatty island by Indian naval vessels reports BSS. An ISPR Press release said the attention of the Government has been drawn to a news item published on January 30 1984 in a section of the Press that a frigate of Bangladesh Navy BNS 'Abu Bakr' was cordoned off by Indian naval vessels while it was on a routine patrol near Talpatty island. It is categorically denied that any Bangladeshi naval ship has ever been cordoned anywhere. Bangladesh naval ships are carrying out normal duties in protecting our national waters without let or hindrance. It may be recalled that Bangladesh and India have agreed that the question of the disputed island would be decided jointly and through peaceful negotiations. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 31 Jan 84 p 1

TRADE WITH BULGARIA--Bangladesh and Bulgaria signed Bartar Protocol No. 10 on Monday in Sofia providing for exchange of commodities worth US \$40 million. Mr S. Hasan Ahmed, Additional Secretary in-charge, Commerce Division, Ministry of Industries and Commerce and Mr Spas Georgiev, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Government of Bulgaria signed the protocol on behalf of their respective Governments, says an official announcement. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 31 Jan 84 p 8]

GRANT FROM DENMARK--Bangladesh has entered into a financing agreement with Denmark for a grant of Dkr. 140 million (165 million US dollars) for procurement of an oil lighterage tanker road rollers and for meeting the ancillary expenditure in connection with the procurements. An official announcement said Wednesday night the agreement was signed here on Tuesday by Dr. Muhiuddin Khan Alamgir Joint Secretary External Resources Division and Mr. Jens Vilhelm Ege Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Royal Danish Embassy on behalf of their respective governments. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 12 Jan 84 p 1]

JUTE EXPORT STATISTICS--About 9.5 lakh bales of raw jute were exported from Bangladesh during first six months of the current fiscal year, according to Mr Shamsul Haque Chisty, Secretary, Jute Division. Briefing newsmen in Dhaka on Sunday, Mr Chisty hoped that the country would be able to export about 17 lakh bales this year which is two lakh bales more than the exportable quantity estimated earlier. When asked about the export price of raw jute, the Jute Secretary said that BWD grade was being sold at an indicative price of 390 dollars per ton. He said that Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation had procured 20 lakh bales of raw jute, Jute Marketing Corporation 4.21 lakh bales and Jute Trading Corporation 3.89 lakh bales during the current season. He said that total jute production in the country during last jute season was 50 lakh bales. Mr Chisty said that the price of raw jute in the internal market continued to rise even after the arrival of increased quantity during the jute season. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 9 Jan 84 p 1]

ACCORD WITH ICAO--Bangladesh has been registered with the Civil Aviation Purchasing Service (CAPS) of International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), reports BSS. An understanding to this effect was reached here today on conclusion of two-day meeting between the visiting Director of ICAO, Mr. M. Challons and Mr. M. Munir-uz-Zaman, Secretary, Civil Aviation and Tourism Division. Official sources here hoped that some of the adverse effects if any of procurement of materials and equipment from tied bilateral sources can be removed through ICAO support system. During the meeting priorities of requirement of Bangladesh Biman and Civil Aviation authority were discussed in detail including expansion of facilities and operation of various airports of Bangladesh and the national flag carrier. ICAO will provide assistance for procurement and purchase of materials by Civil Aviation authority and Bangladesh Biman as and when requested by Bangladesh. Mr. C. Everard, Chief, Field Operations Section of Asia and the Pacific, who is accompanying the ICAO Director during his Bangladesh tour. Mr. W. Holzhausen, Resident Representative of UNDP, officials of the Ministry, Civil Aviation authority and Bangladesh Biman were present during the discussion. Mr Challons will leave here for Bangkok tomorrow. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 26 Jan 84 p 3]

BJD DEMANDS--The extended meeting of the Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Dal in a resolution on Saturday demanded immediate withdrawal of ban on open politics, press censorship and release of all political leaders and workers with a view to creating a congenial climate for dialogue to end the present crisis. The resolution demanded compensation for the families of those who have died and have been wounded on the incidents of November 28 and after. It has demanded judicial enquiry into the November 28 incident and punishment of the persons responsible for the incident. In another resolution the extended meeting demanded the right for free trade union activities. The meeting, in another resolution, demanded the end of martial law in the country. Presided over by its Acting Chairman Begum Khaleda Zia, the meeting concluded on Saturday night. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Jan 84 p 1]

WORKERS PARTY MEETING--The two-day meeting of the central committee of Bangladesh Workers' Party began yesterday at the residence of its leader Hyder Akbar Khan Rono. The meeting observed one-minute silence to pay homage to those who died in November 28, 29 and 30 incidents in different parts of the city. Obituary references were made to late progressive leader Mohammad Sultan and Abdul Bari of Kishoreganj. Party General Secretary Hyder Akbar Khan Rono placed a report in the meeting on the overall economic and political situation of the country while central committee member Rashed Khan Menon apprised the central committee members of the party of the latest development in the united movement. In a series of resolutions, the release of political leaders, commutation of JSD leader Golam Mostafa's death sentence and quashing of sentences on 14 students of Rajshahi University were demanded. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Jan 84 pp 1, 8]

CSO: 4600/1505

## FOREIGN EXCHANGE POSITION IN FISCAL YEAR REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, January 18--India's foreign exchange reserves fell by Rs. 586 crores in the first ten months of the current financial year. Significantly, the figure is less than half of Rs. 1,261 crores by which the reserves declined in the corresponding period of 1982-83.

If drawings from the International Monetary Fund under the extended agreement totalling Rs. 973 crores during the period April to December 1983 are taken into account, the reserves actually showed an overall increase of Rs. 386 crores.

In addition, India has holdings of monetary gold totalling Rs 225.60 crores and 291 million SDRs. (Special Drawing Rights).

The total foreign exchange reserves stood at Rs. 4,652 crores on December 23, 1983. A month-wise assessment shows that the reserves increased during five months of the financial year by Rs. 268.93 crores--April (Rs. 26.45 crores), May (Rs. 131.65 crores), June (Rs. 55.65 crores), July (Rs. 13.92 crores) and October (Rs. 41.26 crores).

In August, the reserves fell by a substantial Rs. 278.88 crores, in November by Rs. 204.92 crores and in September by Rs. 31.91 crores.

The decline in the month of December has been even more sharp--for the week ended December 2 (Rs. 34.55 crores, for the week ended December 9 (Rs. 75.09 crores), for the week ended December 16 (Rs. 78.67 crores) and for the week ended December 23 (Rs. 103.90 crores).

Official figures for the period from December 23 to date are not available and hence there is no knowing if this steep fall has been arrested.

Even at the current figure of Rs. 4,652 crores, the reserves are the highest ever except at the end of 1978-79 (Rs. 5,220 crores), 1979-80 (Rs. 5,163 crores) and 1980-81 (Rs. 4,822 crores).

CSO: 4600/1507

## GANDHI POSITION ON IMF LOAN CRITICIZED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, January 18--THE National Democratic Alliance leaders, Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, have accused the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, of resorting to "Brazen lies and distortions" on the issue of not availing the rest of the IMF loan facility.

In a joint statement, they described here the telecast of January 15 as an attempt to justify the collapse of economic discipline during her years and "a virtual admission of her mistake in seeking this huge loan".

"Perhaps it was the imperative of a mid-term election which persuaded her to indulge in this Orwellian exercise of Double-Speak," their statement said. Maintaining that the Janata government had left foreign exchange reserves of Rs. 5,400 crores--almost double of the Rs. 2,800 crores which it inherited from the previous Congress government--they questioned the Prime Minister's attempt to castigate the Janata government for wrecking the economy.

Ridiculing the announcement of concessional price for wheat and rice for people working in the national rural employment programme and the rural employment guarantee schemes, they observed "the Prime Minister may not be aware of the fact that a large number of people working in these schemes cannot afford to eat any kind of wheat but depend on coarse grain for their survival".

Referring to the Prime Minister's statement that the rising prices were a symptom of economic progress they said it was in fact a "painful form of progress" for the common man when prices rose but income remained static.

The two leaders also ridiculed the Prime Minister's warning to the people that the division among them would weaken the country. "It is sinister to hear this coming from the head of a government which has given the disruptive forces like communalism, sectarian, casteism, sub-casteism and linguism operating in our society or a veneer of policy with the one aim of capturing political power and is resorting to the destabilisation of the state governments with the same aim in view", they alleged.



## Rising Prices

"Not only this, at times, it does not hesitate even to collude with anti-social elements to create law and order situations", they alleged.

The NDA leaders said if with even two-third majority in parliament, the government could not maintain law and order, it was then the most "incompetent government".

Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Vajpayee were also critical of the "toppling game" of the Congress in Jammu and Kashmir and Karnataka where, they said, its complicity had been exposed by the Moily tapes which it chose to ignore.

Referring to "the wasteful expenditure and corruption exhibited during Asiad, NAM and CHOGM" the leaders said the resolve to help the poor in the seventh five year plan would be viewed with scepticism in the people.

Mr. J. P. Mathur, BJP MP, has demanded that Mrs. Gandhi should state openly "what exactly were Dr. Farooq Abdullah's anti-national activities" in Jammu and Kashmir.

Otherwise, he said, the public would be right to conclude that what is being done in Kashmir is nothing more than a family feud being projected into a national struggle, in which case it would prove catastrophic for the country".

Kota (UNI): Mr. Vajpayee told newsmen here that Mrs. Gandhi was trying to hide her failures by raising "the bogey of war" with a neighbouring country.

Mr. Vajpayee said Mrs. Gandhi was purposely trying to strain relations with Pakistan to divert the attention of the people to the failures of her government on the local front. "This was not in the interest of the country or could be termed as good politics," he added.

CSO: 4600/1507

## ENGINEERING GROUP ISSUES 1983 STATISTICS HANDBOOK

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23 Jan 84 p 11

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 22.—The Association of Indian Engineering Industry says that there has been a marked decrease in the growth rate of the economy in 1983. The association says that the industrial growth rate has declined to 3.7%. The manufacturing industry registered a 2.2% growth and the engineering industry 1.6%.

The "handbook of Statistics" for 1983 published by the association notes that the growth rate during the year was far behind the projected growth rate outlined in the Sixth Plan document. The targets have, however, been revised downwards in almost all sectors in the mid-term appraisal of the plan, it is stated.

The sectors of engineering industry which have performed poorly have been identified as the electrical sector, the transport equipment sector, and the non-electrical machinery sector, which suffered major reverses of 4.2%, -1.9% and -0.5% respectively. The decline in the growth rate, it is stated, was mainly owing to poor offtake, raw material constraints, power cuts and financial constraints.

According to the handbook, the engineering industry continues to hold a predominant position among the industries. It accounted for 29% of productive capital, 28% of employment, 32% of the value of output and 34.5% of value added. It also accounted for a substantial share of the total value of the output of all industries in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, West Bengal, U.P., Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

The AIEI handbook analyses the causes of capacity under-utilization. The major factors inhibiting the accelerated production are listed as poor offtake, financial constraints, credit squeeze, inadequate supply of raw materials and components,

power shortage, worldwide recession and adverse industrial relations.

Engineering goods continued to earn most of the foreign exchange. The industry accounted for 13.6% of the country's total exports. The exports of the engineering goods aggregated Rs 1,250 crores, an increase of 17.9% over 1981-82. Capital goods exports (42%) continued to dominate the exports of engineering goods, followed by consumer durables (41.8%), primary steel-based items (14.1%) and non-ferrous metals (1.7%).

High-value added items dominated the engineering export scene. The principal items of exports were cars and car parts, diesel engines and parts, industrial machinery, bicycles and spares, electric wires and cables, hand tools and small and cutting tools.

The handbook says that engineering exports from India have penetrated the quality-conscious markets of the USA, the U.K., the FRG, and the USSR. The top 19 countries absorbed 78% of India's engineering goods exports. The imports have also declined considerably.

The AIEI handbook states that India is one of the few developing countries capable of supplying a large variety of capital goods. At the end of December 1982, there were proposals for 233 joint ventures, of which 140 were in production or operation and 93 proposals were in various stages of implementation.

India's investment by way of equity share capital had been effected mainly through exports of capital equipment and technology. A number of companies belonging to the public sector had come forward to set up joint ventures in diverse fields such as machine tools, engineering contracts, consultancy services, fertilizers and hotels.

India's joint ventures are dispersed over 27 countries. More than 80% of them are concentrated in 10 countries. Almost 66% of the joint ventures are in the manufacturing field and the highest number is in "high engineering", followed by textiles.

The handbook states that in 1982, 590 collaboration agreements were entered into in India. The USA and FRG topped the list accounting for 110 each, followed by U.K. (107), Japan (51) and Italy (37). The engineering industry accounted for 427 of the 590 collaborations. Most of the collaborations are in the high-technology areas: in electrical equipment (107), industrial machinery (107), metallurgical industry (49), machine tools (29) and transportation (28). The Foreign investment approved during 1982 was Rs 62.81 crores.

The handbook speaks of the "gross negligence" of the infrastructure sector which is vital for the development of the economy and is the pace setter for balanced economic development. Statistics reveal that there is considerable backlog in the renewal of assets and the use of assets is unsatisfactory.

The chapter on power development points to the urgent need to meet the continuing demand and the substantial scope for improvement and urges the need to eliminate the delays in the implementation of projects and to expedite the completion of the project in advanced stages.

Statistics reveal the widening gap between power demand and supply, resulting in the imposition of power-cuts. Power shortage remains endemic and there have been delays in the construction of projects and commissioning of new capacity. The targets have thus not been reached. The delays in the commissioning schedules has resulted in cost escalation. The handbook also highlights the huge transmission and distribution losses.

## HOME MINISTER DISCUSSES BORDER INFILTRATION PROBLEM

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] NO talks would be held with Bangladesh on the proposed erection of the barbed wire fencing on the border as part of India's anti-infiltration measures, the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr Nihar Ranjan Laskar, said on Sunday, reports UNI.

Speaking to reporters at Calcutta Airport on his way to Silchar from Delhi, Mr Laskar said the construction of the fencing was expected to be taken up any time. The experts committee set up for it had submitted its report to the Centre and the details of undertaking the construction were now being examined, he said. The construction would first be taken up in the Assam sector and gradually extended to other bordering States, he added.

Asked about objections and proposals for talks on it made in Bangladesh, Mr Laskar said the fencing would be well within Indian territory and there was no reason for holding discussions on it. While discussions on the border and other problems would be held with Bangladesh at various levels, there would be no talks on fencing, he said.

Mr Laskar said the Centre was strengthening anti-infiltration measures on the Bangladesh border in various ways and also directed the State Governments concerned to gear up their police administration to cooperate in checking infiltration.

He said the Centre would agree to the setting up of Assam-type tribunals for detection of infiltrators in any of the bordering States if they so desired. The Act for it in Assam had the provisions for extending the work of tribunals to other States, he said.

While in Assam the forces had been adequately strengthened on the borders and the outposts were set up every 3 km apart. similar measures were being adopted for West Bengal and Tripura borders, Mr Laskar said.

He had information that in West Bengal infiltration was still going on, he said. The Centre was implementing its measures on the border and had sought the State Government's cooperation in checking infiltration.

Mr Laskar ruled out fragmentation of Assam to meet the demands for separate States by different groups. The setting up of a Central university at Silchar was under the Centre's consideration and awaiting the State Government's consent, he told a questioner.

On the 'agitation over the aliens issue in Assam, he said it had now abated. It was becoming 'clear from the utterances of the All Assam Students Union leaders that the situation was entirely political.

Mr Laskar said there was "some political brain" behind the agitation and funds were provided for it. The Centre had taken some steps to restrict such flow of funds, he added.

On the revision of electoral rolls in Assam, he said the Chief Election Commissioner was yet to take a decision on it. Anybody whose name appeared in the rolls would be able to claim citizenship during the process of detection of post-1971 aliens by the tribunals, since the rolls were prepared before 1971, he added.

CSO: 4600/1522



## INDUSTRY MINISTER EXPLAINS POLICY ON R&amp;D

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] PUNE, January 18--THE Union industries minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, reiterated here today that the Central government was considering steps to avoid wasteful expenditure in maintaining inefficient research and development institutions under its control.

Mr. Tiwari was speaking as the chief guest at the foundation-stone-laying ceremony of the fatigue-testing facility of the Automotive Research Association of India (ARAI).

The laboratory that is to be set up at an estimated cost of Rs. 4 crores will be the first of its kind in South Asia, for which a major part of the funds have been provided by the United Nations Development Programme.

## Central Review

The minister said that in the recent past the government had undertaken a review of all Central research and development institutions which were not performing satisfactorily.

He later told newsmen that some of these institutions lacked proper personnel facilities and mainly funds.

Mr. Tiwari said the government had proposed a Central fund for conducting research on the automotive industry by imposing a cess on vehicles, manufactured or sold. So far, a sum of Rs. 2.5 crores had been collected for the fund.

A ten-member committee representing different interests in the automotive industry and headed by the secretary in the heavy industries department had been constituted to operate the funds. He was happy that the industry readily accepted the government proposal.

The Union minister urged ARAI to give equal importance to work on safety aspect of the vehicles, fuel economy, environmental pollution, not to speak of terrains.

Explaining the objectives of the government's technology policy, he said it had been decided to attain competence and self-reliance and reduce vulnerability, particularly in strategic and critical areas.

Another objective was to identify obsolescence of technology in use and arrange for modernisation.

Mr. Tiwari said the import of technology would be permitted only on a selective basis. The government might, from time to time, identify and notify areas of high national priority in respect of which simplified procedures would be applicable, for acquisition of imported technology.

Mr. B. R. Sule, president of ARAI, explained that the automobile units could get their components tested in the proposed fatigue laboratory under simulated conditions. The laboratory would enable exact measurements of stress and strain in all parts of the component and help engineers study the behaviour of material under various conditions of usage.

Mr. Sule also said the ARAI had finalised the arrangement for conducting a course in computer-aided technology for R and D engineers in the field, the fees for which would be fixed at Rs. 25,000 per student. The charges would be much less than the expenditure incurred by companies in sending their engineers abroad.

CSO: 4600/1507

## REDDY: INDIA DISAPPOINTED IN CASABLANCA SUMMIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Jan 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 17.

As current chairman of the non-aligned movement that is vitally interested in Arab unity as an essential prelude to any meaningful dialogue with Israel for a West Asian settlement, India is disappointed that the latest Islamic summit in Casablanca has not been able to bring the key leaders together either to create a climate of conciliation for resolving their bilateral disputes or evolve a collective approach for finding a reasonable solution to the Palestinian problem.

The King of Morocco, the host of this Islamic summit, has invited the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in her capacity as NAM chairperson, to attend it, but she has sent the Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, as an observer on her behalf as she was unable to go to Casablanca because of her preoccupations at home.

Though the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) consists of 44 member States, less than half of them are represented by their respective heads of Government, while the rest of the participants range from Foreign Ministers to senior officials who cannot speak with the same authority at this summit conference. The low level attendance has certainly dampened the earlier expectations of a major Islamic initiative for restoring the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and resolving the West Asian problem.

**Notable absentees**

The notable absentees include the Heads of State of Jordan, Lebanon, Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, all of which are involved in local conflicts. The prominent participants are the Kings of Saudi Arabia and Morocco, the Heads of the Gulf States, Presidents of Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Foreign Ministers of Malaysia and Indonesia and prominent leaders of many African nations. The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez De Cuellar, is attending the conference.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, has sent a message to the conference, in the form of a reply to the invitation sent by the King of Morocco, stressing that both the deliberations and conclusions of the Islamic summit would be of considerable interest to the non-aligned countries since most of the Islamic nations were members of the movement. "The perceptions and concerns that guide the non-aligned," she said, "cannot but be reflected in the OIC deliberations."

The primary Indian interest in this summit is in seeing the Arab countries settle their differences to be able to display the necessary solidarity in settling the West Asian problem. The Indian efforts are directed in strengthening the PLO's position by bringing about a rapprochement between Mr. Yasser Arafat, President Hafeez Asad and King Hussein of Jordan to pave the way for a parallel reconciliation between Egypt and Libya for opening a new dialogue on the Arab-Israeli situation.

It is for this purpose that India had requested the King of Jordan to be the chief guest at this year's Republic Day parade, when the King of Saudi Arabia was unable to accept the invitation. The Prime Minister was hoping to talk to him about the Palestinian issue and use her good offices in improving Mr. Arafat's relations with them. It is unfortunate that King Hussein is suffering from a bleeding stomach ulcer which has obliged him to cancel the week-long visit to India on medical advice.

**Touch of irony**

It is not without a touch of irony that the King of Morocco, who had virtually quarantined the late Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, when he went to Rabat in 1969, to represent India at the first Islamic summit conference, should be so eager now to have Mrs. Gandhi's presence. The only difference is that on the previous occasion India took the ill-advised step at attempting to gate-crash into this Islamic fraternity claiming that it had one of the largest Muslim populations, while the present invitation has been extended in India's capacity as current chairman of the non-aligned movement.

## SPECULATION ON MEANING OF GANDHI TALKS WITH MINISTERS

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 20.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, met her senior Cabinet colleagues today, without any officials present, for an informal discussion on the general political situation in the country which is causing concern to the Government.

She has been meeting senior Ministers privately — either individually, in groups or together — to seek their advice informally on various issues, before taking the necessary decisions in the Cabinet. So her meeting today would not have attracted any special attention, had it not been for the fact that the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. B. K. Nehru, who was in Delhi only a week back, had been summoned to Delhi again.

**Plan for Kashmir:** The Governor's presence in the capital today tended to lend weight to the prevalent impression that the Prime Minister wanted to share her concern with her colleagues and seek their views on what should be done to deal with the Kashmir situation. It would not be surprising if she had already in mind some plan of action for asserting the Centre's authority over this sensitive State, if the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, did not heed her advice to come to terms with the Congress (I) which had launched the current agitation against him.

But there were also other theories afloat about the purpose of Mrs. Gandhi's meeting with her senior Cabinet colleagues. The speculation ranged from possible Cabinet changes to an imminent snap election. An element of mystery was added to these ministerial confabulations, since the participants were reluctant even to confirm that they had met, let alone disclose what had been discussed by them.

Meanwhile, most of the Chief Ministers, including Dr. Farooq Abdullah, arrived in Delhi tonight for the day-long meeting of the National Integration Council tomorrow, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. Most of the senior Cabinet Ministers who participated in today's discussions will be present. There would be ample opportunity for them to have a word with Dr. Abdullah during the lunch break to find out whether he was ready to relent to avoid Central intervention.

**No clear-cut scheme:** What is really astonishing is that Mrs. Gandhi and her advisers do not seem to have any clear-cut plan of action for coping with situations of this kind in an election year, when any precipitate action could easily rebound and do more harm than good to the ruling party's own interests. The Government cannot afford to give the impression that it is not fully in command of the political or economic situation in the country, whatever the nature of the challenges or difficulties facing it.

The Prime Minister has exactly one year left from today for going to the polls at a moment of her choice within this time frame before the next Lok Sabha is elected and duly constituted by January 20, 1985, when the present one would automatically cease to exist unless an emergency is declared and its life extended by legislation.

Though the last Parliamentary elections were held on January 3 and 6, 1980, the results declared a few days later, the necessary notification issued constituting the new Lok Sabha before Mrs. Gandhi was sworn in on January 14, the House met only on January 20 for the first time. And its five-year tenure is deemed to have commenced from that day under the relevant provisions of the Constitution.

C.O.: 4600/1516

PUNJABIS REACT TO SITUATION IN STATE

Akali Dal Youth

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] AMRITSAR, January 22 (UNI)--THE Akali Dal youth wing today named the Congress the "number one enemy" of the Sikh community.

A resolution adopted at its first delegate session at the Manjisahib in the Golden Temple complex called upon Sikh youth to "isolate" Sikhs in the Congress and brand them "traitors" of the Sikh panth.

The resolution accused the Congress of hatching a deep-rooted conspiracy to "annihilate" the Sikh form and philosophy and to weaken the community politically and economically. It asked the Sikh youths to strive to defeat the Congress at every turn.

By another resolution, the youth wing condemned the "misuse" of the National Security Act and invocation of "black-laws" for political ends. It warned of retaliatory measures if the practise was not stopped.

The session condemned the alleged desecration of gurudwaras and the "humiliation" of the Sikhs in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, describing them as "bureaucratic atrocities".

It paid to homage to "martyrs" of the 18-month-old morcha.

Through another resolution the session expressed full faith in the leadership of the Akali Dal president, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, and extended wholehearted support to the morcha.

It condemned the concept of "gurudom" and asked the Sikhs to fight against "hypocrite gurus", who had "opened shops" in the names of religion. The session warned the government and other forces allegedly "trying to wean away the Sikhs away from Sikhism."

The session expressed concern over the increasing unemployment among educated youth and described it as a product of the ruling party's "unproductive, uneconomical and perverted educational policies. These policies were the policies of capitalistic and exploiting class," the session added.



The session expressed concern over the rise in prices which affected the common man and demanded the supply of essentials to the poor on subsidised rates.

The session charged the government with anti-farmer policies and demanded a higher support price for wheat from Rs. 152 per quintal to at least Rs. 200 per quintal for the coming rabi crop.

The resolution passed in this regard also demanded compensation to the farmers whose crops were damaged this year. The cost of production should be linked with the support price, it added.

Through another resolution, the session wanted Punjab to be declared an "intoxicants-free zone".

It accused the Punjab government of conspiracy to weaken the youth force by making them drug addicts. Under the conspiracy the government was indirectly encouraging smugglers by shielding them and by giving them positions in the ruling party.

The session unanimously elected Mr. Prem Singh Chandumajra as the youth wing's first president.

The house conferred powers on Mr. Chandumajra to nominate a 31-member working committee.

The session also declared that the Akali youth wing would prepare about 50,000 youths to take "amrit" by the end of 1985.

Meanwhile, Mr. Prem Singh Chandumajra presented to Mr. Longowal a "secret list" of names of whole-timer youth volunteers who would be ready to carry out the intensification programme of morcha to be announced on January 26.

Mr. Chandumajra said these volunteers would work as the "frontal force of the party".

About 8,000 Sikh youths from Punjab, including 4,300 delegates, came to attend the session on trucks and other vehicles. Most of the youth delegates kept chanting "Sant Bhindranwale zindabad".

Jullundur (PTI): Mr. Virendra, president of the Punjab Hindu Sangathan, has urged the Akalis to call a round-table conference of prominent Hindus and Sikhs in order to prove their sincerity in finding a solution of the Punjab tangle.

In a press statement issued here on Sunday, he regretted that while the Akalis had tried to treat the Punjabi Hindus as "untouchables", they expected the Hindus to support their demands.

New Delhi, (PTI): The Punjab governor, Mr. B. D. Pande called on the President, Mr. Zail Singh this afternoon.

During the half-an-hour meeting, Mr. Pande is understood to have apprised the President of the law and order situation in the state and measures taken to deal with extremists.

Statement by 'Eminent Persons'

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Jan 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] NEW DELHI, January 22--SOME 150 Punjabis, eminent in almost all walks of life and belonging to Hindu, Sikh and Christian communities, have, in a statement, called upon Punjab's "silent majority" to speak up against the current situation in the state, especially the rapid and dangerous escalation of tension between the Hindus and Sikhs.

Describing Punjab as both the shield and the granary of India, the authors of the statement have declared that to allow the state to be "paralysed or torn apart by communal frenzy" would be suicidal and, therefore, it is imperative to view the demands voiced in Punjab as "demands not of one community but the region as a whole."

They have deplored the Centre's "inaction" on these demands which, they say, has allowed the "frenetic play of extremist forces to flourish and grow". And they have condemned all acts of terrorism, violence and communal killings as well as the use of religious shrines as a refuge from the law.

Among those who have signed the appeal to Punjab's silent majority are a large number of retired Generals and Air Marshals, including Lt.-Gen. J. S. Aurora and Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh, many retired civil servants such as Mr. N. K. Mukharji, Mr. Tarlok Singh and Mr. S. N. Chib, authors and artists like Ms. Amrita Pritam, Mr. Satish Gujral and Mr. Kirshen Khanna, educationists, doctors, journalists and others.

The following is the text of the statement: "The situation in Punjab is more than disturbing. The rapid escalation of tension between the two communities the Hindus and the Sikhs, can be dangerous for the state and for the nation as a whole. The protracted delay in facing the problems, in taking decisions, has led to a deep frustration, which in turn has given birth to extremism of the most virulent kind. Action, therefore, has to be immediate if peace and stability are to return to the state.

India's Shield

"Geographically, Punjab has been India's shield. It has borne the brunt of invasions in the past. It has been the frontline state in the three defensive wars fought since Independence. Its contribution to India's feeling of security is known in every nook and corner of this land.

"Punjab is also India's granary. It has gathered record-breaking harvests to meet the country's needs, and helped to tide over acute crises as in the 1960s. Today, Punjab puts more food into the national basket than all the traditional resources taken together, saving the nation from a crushing

foreign exchange burden and from despondency. On no account must this prosperity be threatened. Its agriculture must retain its thrust. Its economy must diversify, strengthening the nation and its industrial power.

"Against such a background, to allow the state to be paralysed or torn apart by communal frenzy would be suicidal. Therefore, it is imperative that the demand voiced in Punjab be demarcated as demands not of a particular community but of a region as a whole. This is the context in which they must be seen and pressed. We have to cut through the legacy of the past when Punjab were divided on the basis of language. This disowning of the mother tongue by some, and the aggravation of other problems by inexplicable delays in the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state, have created a schism between Hindus and Sikhs which can be disastrous for both communities, for Punjab and, indeed, for the whole of India.

"Today, the basic issues in the region concern the future of Chandigarh, boundary adjustments, share of river waters and the rights of states vis-a-vis the Centre.

"Chandigarh was built to compensate Punjab for the loss of its capital, Lahore. There is no reason for that decision to be altered. Surely the nation can afford to give Haryana the funds for its own capital. Every new state has either adopted or built a capital: Bangalore, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Gandhinagar Hyderabad, Jaipur, Imphal, Itanagar, Kohima, Simla, Trivandrum are examples.

#### River Water Row

"Issue like the future of Abohar and Fazilka and other disputed areas based on the principles of linguistic demarcation should be settled on the basis of contiguity, with the village as a unit. Corridors running through the territories of other states can lead to nothing but conflict and, therefore, should not be considered.

"The allocation of river waters is not a political problem. It is technical and legal and should not be politicised. The views of experts from the affected states should be placed before a tribunal presided over by a judge of the supreme court of India. Reasons of prestige, political gain, or "face", have no place in the search for intelligent, rational solutions.

"The fourth demand Punjab shares with all the other states of the union. The Sarkaria commission is examining the question of rights between the Centre and the states, so its recommendations will have to be awaited.

"On the face of it, none of these demands seem to be insuperable. It is the Centre's inaction, its disquieting lack of will to take decisions, that has allowed the frenetic play of extremist forces to flourish and grow. It also needs to be remembered that, despite the appeal of communal forces and of the political parties who wish to jump on the bandwagon of those forces. Hindus and Sikhs at the base of our society have held together. They have not ignited the communal flame. And there are solid reasons for this. The two

communities share a treasured past of respect, of inter-marriage, of working and living together, even of worshipping together. This must be preserved at any cost.

"The pride of the Sikh community in its history and traditions need not in any way detract from the basic sense of togetherness. It is after all a reflection of economic growth, of the search for new avenues of development, of the desire to wield political power in equality. It would, however, be very irresponsible for any political party, national or regional, deliberately to nurture communal conflict to build an exclusive power base. The only intelligent and democratic way of ensuring political stability in today's Punjab is to ensure for both communities their share of governance in the state. Indeed, this will have to become the guiding concern of our complex continental polity.

"There has been enough talk and discussion. Agreements have been reached on several occasions. These have not been honoured or implemented. The Union government owes the Indian people an explanation for its inaction and drift. We call upon all men and women of goodwill--the silent majority which is the real backbone of this country--to recognise the dangers inherent in the Punjab situation, and to give clear expression of their concern and dismay at this inaction. We also call upon them to:

- (i) Condemn all acts of terrorism, violence and communal killings;
  - (ii) Support each other in maintaining the peace of a secular society;
  - (iii) Respect the sanctity of every place of worship, and denounce any attempt by anyone to desecrate any such place;
- (IV) Oppose attempts by anyone to use places of worship of any community as a refuge from the law, for that is the worst form of desecration.

"The time has come for this silent majority to speak its mind. In so doing, it will challenge divisive forces, and assert the authentic secularity upon which civilised living and questing is founded. Silence today would be a betrayal of all our shared yesterdays, and our approaching tomorrows.

\* The signatories to the statement are: Brig. W. S. Ahluwalia, Karuna Ahmed, Air Marshal Ajit Nath, Lt.-Gen. Ajit Singh, Maj.-Gen. Ajit Singh Guraya, Amarjit Singh, Dr. Amrik Singh, Dr. P. N. Anand, Brig. Anant Singh, Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh, Maj.-Gen. Arjan Singh, Dr. Arun Kumar, Dr. M. S. Bajaj, Balbir Singh, Vice-Adml. R. N. Batra, Lt.-Gen. R. N. Batra, Ravi Basu, Lt.-Gen. J. S. Bawa, Col. G. S. Bedi, Bhajan Partap Singh, K. S. Bhargava, Brig. N. S. Bhagat, Major S. R. Bhalla, Sheila Bhatia, Brig. K. Bhopinder Singh, Bikram Singh, P. C. Chatterji, I. N. Chib, I.A.S., H. S. Chhabra, Maj.-Gen. S. S. Chhuhli, S. N. Chhab, I.A.S., Dr. Avnish Chopra, Prem Chopra, Pran Chopra,

Achal S. Save, J. M. Dhamija, I.F.S., Air Marshal H. C. Dewan, Lt.-Gen. J. S. Dhillon, M. S. Dhupia.

Brig. Daljit Singh Virk, Maj.-Gen. U. C. Dubey, Dr. G. S. Dugal, K. S. Dugal, A. S. Garewal, I. K. Gujral, Satish Gujral, Sheila Gujral, Gurbachan Singh, I.F.S., Brig. Gurbux Singh, Lt.-Col. Gurbaksh Singh Brar, Gurcharan Singh, Harcharan Singh Dugal, Dr. Harish Chander, Hinder Singh Vaheli, I.F.S., Indrajeet Singh, Dr. Jagjit Singh, Lt.-Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, Jotinder Singh, H. S. Kandharia, Dr. K. C. Kandhari, S. S. Kanwar, Shiv S. Kapur, G. N. Katarya, Capt. J. C. Kathpalia, B. S. Khaneka, Krishen Khanna, Dr. K. C. Khanna, Maj.-Gen. K. C. Khanna, Lt.-Gen. M. M. Khanna.

Dr. J. N. Khosla, Khub Chand, Dr. P. L. Khurana, Shanno Khurana, Khushwant Singh, Dr. Prem Kirpal, Dr. Jugal Kishore, Prem Krishen, I.C.S., Dr. Satish Kumar, G. I. Loomba, Lt.-Gen. R. A. Loomba, Arun Madan, R. N. Madhok, Dr. K. C. Mahajan, Maheep Singh, Inder Malhotra, Harji Malik, H. S. Malik, I.C.S., G. J. Malik, I.F.S., Malvika Singh, Kamla Mankekar, D. S. Mann, Man Simran Singh, A. K. Mathar, Maj-Gen. K. C. Mehra, Inder Mohan, Lt.-Gen. Mohan Singh Sama, Kanwar Mohinder Singh Bedi, N. K. Mukherjee, I.C.S., Dr. Narinder Singh, chief justice Ranjit Singh Narula, Dr. Devraj Narang, Dr. M. M. Narh, Narinder Nath, Kuldip Nayar, Maj-Gen. R. N. Nehra, Prem Pandhi, Patwant Singh, Maj-Gen. S. Prakesh, Dr. Pritpal Singh, Amrita Pritani, Balraj Puri, Aroon Purie, Lt.-Gen. H. C. Rai, Raminder Singh, Raj Rewal, Air Vice Marshal A. S. Rikhy, Col. H. S. Takhtar, W. N. Talwar, Prakesh Tandon, R. K. Tandon, I.F.S., Dr. P. N. Taneja, Tarlok Singh I.C.S., Tavleen Singh, Tejbir Singh, Tejeshwar Singh, Premvati Thapar, Raj Thapar, Romesh Thapar, Romila Thapar, H. S. Trehan, Trilochan Singh, Satish Saberwal, Pran Saberwal, Lt.-Gen. Sartap Singh, N. Sahgal I.C.S., Air Commodore Amrit Saigal, Col. (Dr.) S. K. Saigal, J. S. Sahni, Rajinder Sareen, Satyanand, Brig. G. S. Shota, Serbjeet Singh, Sham Lal, Shanta Serbjeet Singh, H. D. Shourie, N. S. Sistani, Mantosh Sondhi, Col. Swarnjit Singh, Major General S. S. Urban, R. N. Vasudeva, I.A.S., Lt.-Gen. Ved Parkash, Jamila Verghese and Vikramjit Singh.

CSO: 4600/1521



## PAKISTAN REPORTED TO WANT MINISTERS' LEVEL TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Jan 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 18.

A discreet suggestion has been made by Pakistan that it would help to create the right atmosphere for a resumption of the Indo-Pak dialogue if the Foreign Ministers of the two countries could get together after the Foreign Secretaries had met to get the no-war talks into stride again.

The two Foreign Secretaries, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra and Mr. Niaz Naik, will be meeting in any case in Delhi at the end of February during the next round of official level talks on South Asian economic cooperation, when they will have an opportunity to discuss suitable dates for Mr. Rasgotra's visit to Islamabad to pick up the threads of the earlier discussions on the twin propositions for a friendship treaty and a no-war agreement.

The Pakistan Government wants the two Foreign Ministers, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Yaqub Ali Khan, to meet thereafter at any mutually convenient place, not necessarily in Islamabad or Delhi. The intention is not to elevate the dialogue to the political level before the two Governments are ready for it, but open up a line of direct communication first between the two Foreign Ministers and presumably thereafter between the two Heads of Government themselves.

**Not averse**

The Indian side is not averse to the idea of a meeting between the two Foreign Ministers, but it does not think that any useful purpose would be served by merely elevating the level of contacts, unless the two Governments are equally keen on better relations. There has to be some tangible progress at the lower levels before the two sides could engage in political level discussions.

The first two sub-commissions of the Indo-Pak joint commissions dealing with trade, agriculture, industry, science and technology

and communications, which met in Islamabad during the last few days, have gone off quite well, much better than expected, opening up some new avenues for cooperation. The modest agreements reached have aroused hopes of similar progress at the meetings of the other two sub-commissions, one dealing with information, education, social sciences, culture and sports, and the other with travel, tourism and consular matters, which open tomorrow in Delhi.

Mr. Rasgotra, who will be inaugurating the meetings of these two sub-commissions, is expected to strike a positive note, stressing India's desire for a fruitful dialogue with Pakistan to improve bilateral relations in all spheres. His speech will reflect the spirit of the new Indian approach for better understanding not only with Pakistan but all the neighbouring countries in the region.

**Sharp differences**

There are still sharp differences between India and Pakistan over the very concept of a no-war pact, with India preferring a more comprehensive friendship treaty, while Pakistan wants to confine it for the present to a mutual renunciation of the use of force for settling disputes. Apart from its reluctance to enter into any commitment not to lease bases or enter into military alliances, Pakistan is not prepared to agree to the principle of settling all outstanding issues including the Kashmir question exclusively through bilateral negotiations.

The current Indian thinking is that, while the process of normalisation of relations in non-political spheres should proceed within the framework of the joint commission, the two sides should first agree on the broad parameters for arriving at an accord on issues like the friendship treaty or no-war pact that are fundamental for the maintenance of peace and stability in the sub-continent.

## INDO-BANGLADESH TALKS ON BORDER EXTREMISTS LIKELY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Jan 84 p 11

[Text] AGARTALA, Jan. 17--The Union Government is likely to initiate fresh talks with the Bangladesh Government in regard to the allegation about a "clandestine arrangement" in the Chittagong hill tracts to impart training in arms to the extremist from the Indian border States and Union Territories. Disclosing this, the Chief Minister of Tripura, Mr Nripen Chakrabarti, told reporters here last night that he had been told by the External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, that the issue had earlier been taken up with the Bangladesh Government. But they had refuted saying the allegation was "baseless".

Mr Chakrabarti, who met Mr Rao in Delhi on January 11, said he had made it clear to him that those underground--belonging both to the "Tribal National Volunteers" and the TPLO who had earlier surrendered to the Left Front Government--had confessed at length as to how and where they had been imparted training in arms

Mr Chakrabarti said Mr Rao had assured him that the matter would be taken up with the Bangladesh Government "on specific points" as early as possible.

Mr Chakrabarti said the recent spurt in the extremists was distinctly aimed at generating an air of destabilization afresh in this strategic border State. Commenting on the recent killings, terrorization and extortions by the underground TNV extremists, he said that three armed gangs which had recently crossed over to Tripura from the Chittagong hill tracts were now operating in the State's hill regions. The Chief Minister said that the slackness on the part of the Border Security Forces, as well as the intelligence gap which had not been bridged, was responsible for the delay in curbing insurgency in the State. He said it was really unfortunate that there was even not a single instance to prove that the BSF had apprehended an extremist while he was crossing the border, "though it is fact that the TNV extremists are crossing over to Tripura areas, operating according to their plan and retreating with the looted booties to their hide-out in the Chittagong hill tracts in a regular process".

The Chief Minister said he would soon talk to the BSF authorities about the prevailing situation along the State's international border with Bangladesh.

He said the State intelligence departments were now being reorganized to take effective steps in this regard.

Mr Chakrabarti said he had discussed with Mrs Gandhi and the Union Home Minister, Mr P. C. Sethi, in New Delhi on January 11 and 12 and apprised them of the latest situation in the State. The demand for deployment of more BSF units to completely seal off the border with the Chittagong hill tracts, as well as the MNF-infested Mizoram border, had been pressed, he said. Mr Chakrabarti said Mr Sethi had asked to be given at least some time to do this in.

Mr Chakrabarti also stated that about 30 forest offices in the State's hill areas had remained closed since the carnage of June, 1980, for fear of being attacked by the armed tribal extremists. The Government staff had begun re-opening the offices recently.

The successive attacks on the three forest offices in North Tripura district on January 11 and 12 by armed TNV extremists, in which three persons, including a forest official, had been shot dead, were, in fact, a challenge to the State authorities who were keen to normalize the situation, Mr Chakrabarti added.

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## TAMIL NADU CHIEF MINISTER LAUNCHES NEW DAILY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Jan 84 p 7

[Text] MADRAS, Jan. 18--"Manra Murasu", a new Tamil daily, edited by Mr Musiriputhan, AIADMK MLA, who is the president of the "World MGR Fans Association", made its appearance in Tamil Nadu today. Launching the paper at a function here last night, the Chief Minister, Mr M. G. Ramachandran, delivered a homily to the newspaper fraternity, still groaning under his notorious "anti-scurrility" Press law and commented the new paper as a model of objective and truthful reporting.

News of the state of the country was conspicuously absent in the inaugural issue of the eight-page daily which was full of the Chief Minister's "revolutionary thoughts". Mr Ramachandran's photograph (in assorted sizes and shapes) appeared in eight places.

Mr Ramachandran chose the occasion to announce that elections to the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha were round the corner and exhorted his party men to increase their strength to at least 160 in the 235-member House. In the present Assembly the AIADMK has 130 members.

Mr Ramachandran handed over the first issue of "Manra Murasu" to Mr Bagyaraj, the up-and-coming Tamil film star, and informed the enthusiastic audience that he was passing on his mantle as the doyen of Tamil films to the rising star. The AIADMK is counting on the film glamour of its leader, besides that of Ms. Jayatalitha and Mr Bagyaraj to influence voters and win seats in the coming elections.

Meanwhile, the Tamil Nadu capital is humming with rumours that Mrs Gandhi has decided to go for elections in March or April next. Mr Ramachandran's call to party workers to ensure that all eligible voters were enrolled and bogus ones pointed out and the chief electoral officer's announcement that additions and deletions would be closed on January 28 and the revised rolls published on February 7, have only strengthened these rumours.

Though the term of the present Tamil Nadu Assembly expires only in June 1985, Mr Ramachandran is understood to have decided to go in for simultaneous elections to the Lok Sabha and the State Legislature in alliance with the Congress (I).

SOVIET UNION SAID NOT SINCERE ABOUT COOPERATION

Tehran KAYHAN AL-ARABI in Arabic 19 Jan 84 p 8

[Editorial by Ahmad Zakariyah: "Situation With the Ambassador"]

[Text] It is no easy thing for the Soviets that documents of the treasonous Tudeh Party are revealed, document by document, so that all its suspicious and conspiratorial relations with the Soviets are brought to light, just as they are, by the current open trials on the small screen where newsmen, local and foreign, are free to observe and report the details of the trials without the slightest difficulty and, consequently, to obtain information in the form of the confessions which, it can be said, changed and will change the way the public views Soviet "friendships", "alliances", "aid programs", and "intentions" toward peoples and liberation movements.

It is no easy thing for the Soviets that "their dreams" in Iran collapsed all at once and without prior warning and that the hard work of a lifetime in training and financing the communists in working with the Soviet "embassy" and charging the atmosphere--or changing it, if possible--in the interests of the Soviets has suddenly turned into disturbing and very unpleasant confessions for the rulers in the Kremlin and their followers everywhere.

It is not easy that the accused members of the Tudeh Party are shedding tears of error, remorse, and grief before the Iranians and the entire world, competing with one another to rid themselves of the Marxist-Leninist teachings with which they were inoculated for the past 40 years, for they have led them without mercy or consideration for their souls or their consciences to this slow death and this black fate.

The Soviet Union cannot stand the accused among the most prominent Tudeh leaders vying with one another in admitting failure and the complete blocking of world Marxist theory before the strong Islamic tide that we find deeply rooted in the poor people and toilers for whom the dissolved Tudeh Party had long set itself up as defender while it was unable to deliver anything tangible except, by God, spying and conspiring against the power of the deprived Muslim people in Iran and elsewhere. Even one of the ideologues of the Tudeh believes that both the party and communism have become a rotting corpse that must be buried, urging the young whom Marxist and Soviet propaganda seduced that they renounce deviation, after having had the Iranian Islamic



experience confirm without doubt and without anything being hidden that it was only a slow suicide for the sake of the Soviets.

So, it is quite to be expected that PRAVDA would try in its characteristic way to distort the facts, to deny the reality, and to disprove it with lies that have lost completely their impact with the confessions of Tudeh's leaders--and the confessions of the supreme authority--on all matters, big and small.

Naturally, we must say that the majority of the "Tudeh" confessions would not have been kept secret, from the beginning, from the Muslim people and the Muslim leaders in Iran, were it not for the fact that Islamic customary law definitely prohibits trying a criminal or punishing him unless he is caught red-handed in his crime and confesses. The small screen recently showed a previously produced film of a television discussion in which the martyred Beheshti, may God be pleased with him, openly charged the Tudeh Party with espionage and treason since the Soviets sowed their first seeds in Iran on the morrow of World War II. At that time Kiyani violently denied the accusation, claiming that the martyred Beheshti could not prove it. However, Beheshti, whom the Imam Khomeini considered a giant of a man answered by saying he was ready at any appropriate time to hold the necessary trials and offer conclusive proof.

One of the most conspicuous signs of the bewilderment, anxiety, and lack of clear sightedness in which the Kremlin leaders are living is the letter they recently sent through their "ambassador" in Tehran to the president of the Islamic consultative council. In it they expressed their "disapproval" of the media liberalization and freedom to disclose and analyze the proceedings of the Tudeh trials. Then there is the claim made by the ambassador when he received Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani last Tuesday that the Iranian media keeps "taking sides" against the Soviet Union.

We do not doubt that Rafsanjani's rejection of the "reprimand" was adequate and very precise when he pointed out that if it were not for the unprincipled stands--and much more--of the Soviets on matters concerning the Iranian people, the latter would not have chosen the response--media publicity--in a form that did not please the Soviets.

It is worth noting here, however, that press freedom in Iran is commonplace and that the writers are free to write within the limits permitted by the Islamic constitution. Article 175 says "it is necessary to guarantee the freedom of publication and information in accordance with the Islamic standards applicable to the public information media."

Therefore, when the Iranian information media find that the Soviets have the "lion's share" in Tudeh treason, in addition to the fact that the flow of Soviet weapons, tanks, planes, and missiles raining down almost incessantly on the heads of the innocent in Iran has not yet been cut off from Baghdad and even that well-known Soviet newspapers were not denying recently and openly support for "Saddam's Qadisiyah", something which does not conceal the prominent role played by the Soviets in prolonging it up to now....

When the media find all that taking place before their eyes, is it reasonable and logical for them to stand back and [merely] observe, especially since their role in the ripening and victory of the Islamic revolution was so great that today they form one of the basic pillars of the revolution? Of course not. They must continue to play the same role in informing domestic and foreign public opinion about the truth of the plots directed against the revolution from the east and from the west and therefore to make all the people aware of their responsibilities in resisting and thwarting the plots by appropriate means and at the appropriate time.

The one who can blame and reprimand the Iranian information media is definitely neither the Soviet ambassador nor any other foreigner. The one concerned about that, first and last, is the Iranian Muslim people for they alone have the power to make basic and legally valid decisions.

Now if the Soviets are so bothered by the stand of the Iranian media, they can improve it by being sincere and showing their good intentions in a practical way. What they must do, at the very least, is avoid participating in any aggression against the Iranian people, not become a principal party to it. But these days they do not conceal their desire to open a "common front against imperialism" (!) with Iran. It is quite clear that any sincere positive steps the Soviets take toward correcting their hostile stands against Islamic Iran will certainly evoke a positive echo in the Iranian information media, which must, in such circumstances, review its position on the relations between the two sides.

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CSO: 4604/9

KHOMAYNI ISSUES 12-POINT MESSAGE ON REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 12 Feb 84 pp 18, 19

[Text] The magnificent ceremonies in honor of the fifth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution were held with the unprecedented presence of the million-large hezbollah nation in Tehran's Azadi Square. The unprecedented presence of the large number of people from throughout the country in the ceremonies to honor the beginning of the sixth year of the victory of the Islamic revolution was once again a strong blow to the enemies of the Islamic revolution.

The reports of KEYHAN correspondents indicate that the hezbollah nation left for Azadi Square from the early hours of yesterday in very organized marches along the courses announced previously. This gathering revived once again the memory of the marches prior to the victory of the Islamic revolution in early 1979. The marchers who carried pictures of the imam of the nation, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri and a group of the officials of the country challenged global oppression with their pounding slogans and once again pledged themselves to the great leader of the revolution, Imam Khomeyni, to protect and guard the Islamic revolution.

According to the reports by KEYHAN correspondents, these unparalleled, magnificent ceremonies, in addition to the various strata of the people, were attended by a group of the clerics, the venerable families of the martyrs, the self-sacrificers of the Islamic revolution, foreign guests participating in the Fajr ceremonies, military attaches of foreign

embassies, a group of national officials and representatives of the Majlis, and military and law enforcement commanders.

After the marchers were situated in Azadi Square and the streets around it, the magnificent ceremonies of the beginning of the sixth year of the Islamic revolution began with recitations of some verses from the Koran. After the recitation of verses from the Koran, several songs were sung, followed by Hojjat ol-Eslam Haj Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni, the imam's son, reading the message of the great leader of the Islamic revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran as follows:

In the Name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful

God Almighty, we thank You humbly for your countless dispensations and extreme blessings in having granted us honor at the onset of the sixth year of the victory. Five years have passed since the oppressive hands of the shah and the global oppressors were severed from the oppressed nation of Iran. The calculations of the observers of the East and the West and their Westernized and Easternized agents have turned out to be wrong.

Those whose eyes see nothing but appearances and material ties and who are unaware of the supernatural power thought it impossible for a nation with empty hands and no modern weapons to overcome a 2,500-year regime which was armed to the teeth with weapons from the United States, the East and the West. Later, their other calculations, that every revolution must either rely on the West or the East or that this revolution is new and will not last more than a few months, turned out to be wrong. Months and years passed and Iran regained its calm. The revolution and the Islamic regime remained intact like an impenetrable mountain and confronted the world in the East and the West with God's power. By the will of Almighty God, the Islamic nations and the oppressed people of the world began to support the revolution by protesting the atomic and nuclear powers and rising up against the murderers and against dictatorship in the guise of democracy, execution in the guise of humanism, and plunder in the guise of socialism. This worldwide flood cannot be stopped with force. With the special blessing of Almighty God and the generous attention of the Guardian of Affairs and the Owner of the Age, the Islamic power of Iran, the rays of which have been spread to the East and the West, has become known to all the Satanic powers such that wherever in the world there is an uprising, a revolution or an explosion by the oppressed and plundered people, the high ranking officials of the infernal powers claim that Iran has had a hand in it or that Iranian young men have carried it

out. The palaces of the superpowers, such as the White House, have had security walls built around them and fighter planes fly over their ships and warships. God Almighty has taken peace away from them and has brought victory through fear to the strugglers of His path. The fabricators of rumors who imagine they can weaken the Islamic revolution through their lies and false accusations actually strengthen Iran and the Iranian fighters with these rumors. Consequently, the oppressed nations of the world are given a strong spirit and God strengthens His religion in the hands of the enemies. The powers must know that today is not like yesterday, when the nations would retreat like governments with one threat. Today, it is the Satanic power of the United States and its allies and supporters whose palaces are closed and surrounded by concrete walls when one explosion occurs in some corner of the world.

Meanwhile, the Islamic Republic of Iran has had no hand in any of the explosions; but what it has accomplished is that it has broken the great imaginary idols, has removed the fear and terror from the hearts of the oppressed and transplanted them in the hearts of the oppressors. This accomplishment by a nation with insignificant numbers is a miracle performed by a divine hand.

The United States must know that its hasty decisions and its unstudied actions which were announced recently, placing Iran on the list of countries supporting or engaging in terrorist acts, will not solve any problems for it and will not open any escape route to it, because now, the oppressed of the world mobilize through uprising and revolution or other forms to sever the hand of the oppressors and there shall be no problems for Iran. The United States, after its defeat in Iran, engaged in an economic embargo against us by using its Western allies in Europe and tried to the best of its ability, but we welcomed it warmly. The administrators of the White House must know that the world has changed and that the Satanic powers have been disarmed of the old and new colonialist weapons. The officials in charge of U.S. policy must change their ideas and policies and should not imagine that the administration of the whole world is in their hands, with all the countries at their disposal, their eyes and ears shut. They must realize that their severance of relations, economic embargoes and false lists will not make the world any more difficult for a country. Similarly, entering Egypt in the organization of the so-called Islamic conference with such preparations and deals made with Huseyn, Hasan and (Hana) will not resolve the complexities created by the alertness of the nations and their protests. It is not surprising that the United States and its puppets resort to every means to return Egypt to the Arab League. It is unfortunate and strange and shows the weakness of the Arab leaders that, after all those behind-closed-door and open talks, those strange noises and talks about the plans which were presented in the gathering of these kings,



presidents and high ranking leaders of the Arab and non-Arab countries, those who did not know them expected that in this gathering, discussions would deal with the problems that have been created for Islam, Muslims and the oppressed nations of the world by the superpowers and that global solutions to the problems would be found. Despite so much ceremony, they held meetings, summarized the problems of Islam and Muslims, and returned Egypt, which has signed a treaty with Israel, to the Arab community. Then, they expelled Egypt for signing a treaty with the Zionists and now, they return it for approving and recognizing Israel. Then, they expelled Egypt for turning its back on the wishes of the Arabs, and return it today for kissing the hand of the United States. Then, they expelled Egypt for betraying the goal of Palestine and today, they return it for a collective signature to that treason. More unfortunate and strange is that Egypt did not agree to any conditions, totally disinterested.

One high ranking official in Cairo said: The Arab leaders must confess to their mistake. The problem of Lebanon, the problem of Afghanistan and other problems of nations have not been the kinds of problems the so-called heads of the Islamic countries should spend their time on. How could the oppressed and honorable non-Arab Muslims bear the shame of these being their leaders? Has the time not come for the Islamic nations to rise up and make their leaders submit to Islamic honor or treat them like Iran did? Are the so-called Islamic governments asleep? Do they not see that today the situation of the nations is different from before? Do they not want to accept the fact that eyes and ears have been opened and that Eastern and Western deceptions have lost their effectiveness? Do they not know and do they not see that the Islamic revolution has been or is about to be exported and that with the help of Almighty God, the flag of Islam will be flying throughout the world at the hands of the Islamic nations and even the oppressed people who thirst for justice in the near future? Then, is it not better for the governments to wake up and repent for the sin that they committed in Casablanca, violating the honor of Islam, Muslims and especially the Arabs and leaving their infamous mark on history? Return to wrathful Almighty God, lest the fire of His wrath burn the guilty and innocent alike!

#### Necessary Reminders

Now, at the onset of the sixth year of the victory, it is necessary to repeat certain reminders that I have frequently made before. Reminders benefit the faithful [Arabic]: /The continuous presence of the people on the scene and their support of the fronts and behind the fronts/ [in boldface].

1. Now that, thank God, under the auspices of the blessings of Almighty God and the justice of his holiness, the Hidden Imam, the Islamic Republic advances strongly and persistently with the efforts of the various strata of the nation, I ask the venerable nation to be present actively on the scene and not to hesitate to assist the serving government, the fronts and behind the fronts. To defend Islam, the Islamic country and the property and families of Muslims is a religious obligation. All of us, according to our ability, must provide for the needs of the fronts and behind the fronts, which is also contributing to our defense. I thank the venerable nation of Iran which brought the revolution to fruition and advances it with its presence and unsparing self-sacrifice and ask them to continue their active presence, thereby to attain the contentment of Almighty God. I hope that the Almighty will consider this entire great nation as fighters on the path of God and grant them a share in the rewards of the fighters at the side of the Prophet at the dawn of Islam.

#### Praise and Thanks to the Fighters and Servants of Islam

2. My pen and words are inadequate to show my appreciation and thanks to the Islamic fighters and self-sacrificers. The great victories on all fronts have brought pride and glory to the Islamic Republic and the holy men of God. What pen or words can be used to thank those young men who enthusiastically, with love of God, compete to defend the truth and beloved Islam, who sacrifice the only thing they possess, their lives, for a sacred goal of the prophets and great holy men of God, such as the master of the oppressed and the self-sacrificers--and who resounded the cries of "We shall never be subjugated" of that great man of history throughout the country and the whole world? What pen or words can be used to praise those beloved ones who have changed the war into an altar of the mosque and the attainment of God? Supposing that talented writers are able to write about their extraordinary bravery, heroism, power and boldness under the fire of machine guns, cannons and tanks and painters and actors are able to paint to represent their artistic victories on dark nights before the missiles and bombers of the cruel enemy, their passing through the turns and twists of barbed wire and over high mountains, dragging the enemies of God out from their concrete trenches equipped with advanced weapons--but how can the divine mysticism and spiritual manifestation towards which lives and melted hearts leap in divine manifestation be expressed in words? Truly, how do the Westerners, the Easterners, the Westernized, the Easternized and the nationalists analyze such self-sacrifice with its spiritual and mystical dimension and divine love? Here the issue is not the act of bravery. The issue is the motivation and spirit towards God. The issue is love for the true beloved which eliminates everything else and destroys any motivation except love for Him. In which war, revolutionary movement or rebellion in the past,

since creation, do you know of such soldiers and self-sacrificers as the Iranians? Only among God's holy men and those who were nurtured in their school who have cast light upon the children of this land and have liberated them from the self. Where in history do you know of parents, wives, sisters, brothers and other relatives such as these who compete to sacrifice their children even after having already given several? This is the true school of the Koran and Islam and these are the children of the Koran and Islam. This is our ideology and these are they who profess our ideology. The greetings and blessings of God and His prophets to those parents and those exalted children and greetings to those self-sacrificers who have given up everything for their goal. Oh, beloved ones of Islam and the capital of the nation, fight to cleanse your hearts of selfishness. You must know and we must know that He is all there is and the manifestation of His image--the body, life, soul and spirit--all belong to Him. Try to remove the veil of the self and see His beautiful exalted face. It is then that every difficulty becomes easy, all suffering and trouble become pleasant and being sacrificed on His path becomes "sweeter than honey," becomes higher than all else. Do not let pride, bravery, youth and victory find their way into your heart, because then the roof and structure of all goals will crumble. All of you, the brave strata, including the army, Guards Corps, mobilization, gendarmerie, committees, police and tribal forces, try to melt into one and destroy the "I" and the "you." Attack the enemy like a single hand of power. The goal of everyone is to defend Islam and the Islamic homeland, such that the victory of each will be the victory of all and the goal the issue, not the Guards Corps, the army or other fighters. I warn all the armed forces that even if, God forbid, by the hand of the devil and the enemies of the revolution, such problems occur in the future, rest assured that the support of the Almighty will be taken away from you and you shall be defeated in the war with the enemies of Islam. Then you shall be exposed before the Islamic nation and you must endure Islamic shame. More importantly, you shall be expelled from the court of the Almighty and shall face misery in the next world.

3. Oh beloved of Islam, this is an important issue concerning infamy, honor, enmity and salvation. Hence, it is necessary to avoid selfish desires, which are nurtured by Satan, and to hold fast to each other's brotherly hands, as you have done thus far, even tighter. Consider the interests of Islam and your country and think of nothing else. May God be your friend and supporter.

The Very Important Issue of the Elections and the Necessity for the Unified Participation of the People

4. Among the very important issues which we will face in the near future is the issue of the elections for the second term of

the Majlis. The sensitivity and importance of this issue, for various reasons, cannot be overstated. Honorable speakers, both the Friday imams and the speakers before each session, should take every opportunity in every assembly for Friday prayers throughout the country to remind the people of the various important aspects involved and discuss with the people the dangers of the mishandling of these elections, to which the destiny of Islam is related. The Majlis is of direct or indirect concern to a decisive majority of the people of the country. Whatever this oppressed nation suffered from the Constitutional revolution to the last term of the appointments of monarchical oppression was decidedly the result of corrupt Majlises, in the election of which the nation had no or an insignificant role.

They had dismissed the clergy totally and through the conspiracies and poisonous propaganda arising from the West through treasonous or ignorant Westernized or Easternized intellectuals, they had so emptied the Majlis of the clergy and the faithful that participation in the elections was considered a great sin in support of oppression. The clergy was totally removed from the scene and drawn into isolation. The hands of the Easternized and Westernized tyrants were free and they brought the country to the situation we all witnessed. In any case, today, also, we witness those decadent ideas in a small number of the uninformed clergy. However, if in every city and province a few people had had ideas in keeping with those of the late martyr Modarres, the Constitution would have advanced in its legitimate and correct form and the Constitution and its amendments, for which the late Haj Sheykh Fazlollah Nuri was martyred, would not have been corrupted by Western ideas, and beloved Islam and the oppressed Muslims of Iran would not have suffered such extremes. Following the removal of the clergy or, rather, their dismissal from the scene, all the faithful and all the strata, including the educators, workers, administrative employees, bazaar merchants and others, also stopped participating or were stopped from doing so and the situation turned out as it did. Now, we must learn a lesson from the conspiracies and corruption which have occurred since the isolation of the clergy and the affront to Islam and Muslims and realize that the Islamic system, the implementation of divine laws, the interests of Islamic nations and countries and other protections against the hands of the foreigners rely upon the participation of the various strata of the nation, especially the honorable clergy and the venerable sources of emulation. If, God forbid, damages are inflicted on Islam or the Islamic country as a result of a lack of participation in the destiny of the society, every individual in the nation shall be answerable before the vengeful and powerful God. The following generation, which may suffer thousands of aggressions due to the present lack of participation, shall not forgive us. Therefore, one of our religious and national duties in order to protect Islam and the



interests of the country is to be present at the election booths and vote for pious and competent representatives who are informed about the political situation of the world and the needs of the country, whether or not they are chosen from among the clergy. The Majlis needs religious scholars and clerics who know the religious and political laws of Islam and, similarly, it needs experts in the various fields needed by the country. Today, the Majlis faces a chaotic, complicated industrial and political world, Western and Eastern countries, as well as international fights for survival. Such a Majlis must be filled with informed scholars and experts in every field. It is necessary for those who introduce candidates to the nation to include several people from every field of expertise among their candidates, either from their own group or guild, if they find such a person or persons, and if not, from other groups. The issue of elections is a divine issue that distinguishes between those who adhere to groups and those who adhere to the precepts and separates the faithful and committed from the opponents. Should those who made themselves candidates or are candidates of a group not consider themselves competent to be representatives in such a Majlis, their presence there shall have no benefit for their country. Keep God Almighty in mind, give priority to His contentment over your own and do not commit such an improper violation. The honorable clerics, including the Friday and congregational imams and others should guard against emptying their cities of the servants of the nation and the pious slaves of God since serving the people, providing for their needs and the scholarly and moral training of the slaves of God, which is the noble profession of the clergy, should take priority over everything, unless they know that their presence in the Majlis would prove more beneficial to the service of Islam. The touchstone for everyone must be service and not, God forbid, the attainment of position. You know that in the Islamic Republic, the positions that are important in other regimes, and for the attainment of which people engage in every legal and illegal act, are not important and, essentially, such positions have no value unless they are to serve God and the people of God. Be obedient to that great man of history, peace be upon him, who made such a statement about government. The people are free to elect the individual they prefer and no one has the right to impose himself in favor of the candidates of one group or another. No authority, political party, group or individual has the right to insult those who disagree with them or, God forbid, engage in exposing them. Everyone has the right to engage in correct propaganda for himself or others and no one has the right to interfere with this right. Of course, propaganda must conform to the government regulations and no one should vote, in accordance with religious laws, blindly and without making inquiries. Should all individuals and groups agree on the competence of a person or persons but the voter determine otherwise, agreeing with them is not right, as he shall be responsible before God. If a group or



certain individuals determine the competence of an individual or individuals and they are certain of it, they should vote for them.

The government is one of Islam and the people. The Majlis belongs to the people and voting is in the hands of the people. No one is under the order of any official or officials. It should be mentioned that the honorable people in each electoral zone should choose an individual or individuals as candidates and engage in correct legal and religious election activities involving them. In order to make the elections more exciting, no region should determine the candidate of another. Also, the competence or incompetence of a person or persons who are candidates cannot be determined by others.

Each region is responsible for participation in the elections of that region. It would be better for the representatives of all the strata of the regions to exchange views in making decisions concerning the individual or individuals they have in mind. Nonetheless, all individuals who meet the requirements are free to determine their candidate or candidates.

#### The Importance and Role of the Theological Center and University in Continuing the Movement

5. The issues of the religious jurisprudence centers and the universities are of special importance because they can be compared to the raw material for the destiny of the nation and the country. These two authorities are the source of the spread of the truth of Islam and socio-political, economic, cultural and other national issues.

With this group, the vital engine of a system begins to operate. These are the people who will bring reform and improvements to the country and their corruption, God forbid, is the source of the corruption of the nation. If schools and universities had been righteous, active and competent, the Majlises of the past, the governments of the past and the judiciary of the past would not have been so calamitous and so much calamity would not have befallen our country and oppressed nation. If our nation does not want to face being caught in the claws of the aggressive powers and their followers as well as governments such as that of the Qajars and, much worse, the Pahlavi regime, it must engage in this great reform. If the theological students, the learned scholars, the grand sources of emulation and the university stratum, including the honorable professors and students as well as all the scholars, do not want their country to suffer from colonialism and exploitation by the world devourers, they must make an effort to impart correct Islamic, national, revolutionary education to the nation. The university and theological students must make a great effort to improve themselves under the guidance

of professors, teachers and instructors. They must also seriously try to strengthen unity between the universities and the Islamic theological schools, because the enemies of the nation and the country have benefitted much from their disunity and have inflicted great harm on the Islamic country.

Today, scholars and teachers of Islamic theology must preserve their pious path and use their minds to enrich religious jurisprudence, interpretation, philosophy and other Islamic sciences and must guide their students in this divine purpose. Also, university professors and scholars must expend their efforts on various scientific issues which are vital to the country and find scientific and cultural independence.

After some time, God willing, with effort, by using their high ideas and self-reliance to provide for the scientific needs of our students, making it unnecessary for them to go abroad, this can be accomplished. If it were not for the foreign and domestic propaganda of the agents of the West and those 'infatuated with the West, by now, this stage would have been realized. But, Westernized intellectuals, these loyal servants of England and France in the past and the United States later, did not allow us to wake up. They made our young people despair and did to the universities what we have witnessed. The corruption of the Majlis and the government spread throughout the country. Now is the time to wake up and neutralize the colonialist conspiracies. Our youths are an investment in the future of the country. They must know that going to the West and East to study various sciences will stop them from achieving independence and freedom and will make them more dependent. Our enemies who have set their greedy eyes on our country will never allow us to gain independence. We must make ourselves believe that nothing is happening in the West except what will keep us behind the caravan of civilization and perfection. We must all know that our greedy enemies have their eyes on penetrating the universities, even if in the distant future, to misguide the pure-hearted youth with fantasies and lies and to open themselves to plunder and exploitation. The professors who are committed to the well-being of the country and the enthusiastic, patriotic youth must guard against the Westernized and opportunistic individuals penetrating their ranks and gradually imposing the sinister intentions of the world devourers. If you see the slightest deviation in words or deeds of a person, do not consider it insignificant, stifle it immediately in its infancy. May God be your refuge.

The Issue of the Judicial Branch and Its Grave Duties With Regard to the People

6. The judicial branch, which is the source of refuge for the oppressed people, is an independent power and no authority has the right to interfere with it. Those who interfere unwittingly

in the judicial affairs must be made aware that they have acted contrary to religious instructions and the regime of the Islamic Republic and those who do so wittingly deserve prosecution and punishment. It is the duty of the government and the executive branch to prevent deviations and violations by anyone anywhere. Those who refuse a summons to the judicial courts must be prosecuted and given religious punishment. Those who deviate from the rule of the religious magistrates or show resistance have acted contrary to Islam and God's instructions and must be prosecuted. Those who have a complaint against a judge or who object to the ruling of a judge must go to the proper authorities and must never act on their own. They must know that rulings issued by religious magistrates, until they have been proven to be contrary to religious laws in the courts and by proper authorities, must be carried out. Magazines, newspapers and the mass media must note that weakening the judicial branch is contrary to Islamic laws. They must avoid broadcasting issues which would weaken or insult the judicial authority. This is an Islamic country and everything must be done in accordance with Islamic laws. Complaints about a judge or the court must be done in accordance with religious regulations. No matter who the plaintiff may be, he does not have the right to raise his claim in the press, through the mass media or in public assemblies or to create negative feelings toward the judicial branch. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television must pay attention to this and similar issues. The issues of the judiciary, respect for the honorable magistrates and obeying the rulings issued by them are respected by Islam. May God grant success to all. On the other hand, the judicial organization and the honorable magistrates must note that they are serving at a most sensitive position in the system. They must try hard not to commit any mistakes and if they become aware of some mistake, they should not be ashamed to return to their post, for it is much more severe to be ashamed before God than before the people. They must try to deal with everyone carefully, kindly and decisively so that the people are satisfied with them, because the contentment of the people is followed by the contentment of God.

The honorable magistrate must try not to create unnecessary delays for the people and must try to investigate their affairs as soon as possible.

#### Support of Government and Nation for Each Other

7. Today, Iran is attacked by tyrants who do not stop at any kind of propaganda or arms against it, accused of wanting to implement the progressive laws of Islam, and all because the great powers and the governments of the region have an unwarranted fear of it. Given this global atmosphere, the government and the nation must support each other to the best of their ability. Whenever they have brotherly complaints against

each other, they must join hands in brotherhood and equality. The government is at the service of the nation with all its power. There may be problems, it is impossible to avoid them in a newly born regime which has not yet left the revolutionary period behind and is at war with the world-devourers of the East and the West, who have risen to fight in all dimensions. The resistance of the government in this infernal atmosphere is praiseworthy and deserving of thanks.

The nation must support it with all its might, remind the government of its imperfections and cooperate with it to eliminate them. The government must also work hard to eliminate the imperfections. If all the strata, all the members of the government, the armed forces and the tribes, defend their country and Islam together and there should be a defeat, God forbid, all shall be responsible before God and condemned before the future generations and the oppressed people of the world. This does not mean that constructive criticism and fatherly and brotherly admonitions by the Majlis, if they are correct, would be problematic. On the contrary, such is desirable. Any time that a deviation, God forbid, is seen, it should be pointed out, even to the point of impeachment.

#### The Scholars and Intellectuals of the Islamic Countries Should Come Towards the Nations

8. The nation and government of Iran, indeed all Muslims who are committed to the interests of Islam, the world and the oppressed people, and who are aware of the world issues and these injustices in history, are dissatisfied and upset by some of the actions of the government officials of the regime and other Islamic countries, considering their actions contrary to Islam and Islamic countries. They condemn the efforts of the heads of these countries in the form of conferences along a path which only aids the recognition of usurping Israel, opening the way even more for the United States in the region. And Islamic countries help to plunder the great resources of the Muslims, helping to escalate the war that they have begun against oppressed Lebanon, and helping the aggression of the supporters of Saddam in a war imposed on Iran which helps strengthen the foundations of the government of the usurpers of Israel.

Again, we condemn the Morocco conference both for its location and its content. You selected a place and accepted a person as the head of the conference who, while efforts were being made to make the Camp David and Fahd plans acceptable, spilled the blood of the Moroccan nation and when the waves of protest of the Moroccan nation spread throughout all the cities, once again your host soaked his hands to the elbow in the blood of the most oppressed of the oppressed, the oppressed Muslims. Despite all these calamities and problems which the Arabs and other Muslims



face, again, since their destiny is tied together because of great Islam, we suggest that scholars and intellectuals of all the Islamic countries remain in contact as much as possible for the purpose of finding a way to liberate the Islamic countries from the claws of the superpowers of the West and the East, to dismiss the heads of the Islamic countries under the domination of the world devourers, and to resist colonialism and subjugation, and to base their plans on the awakening of the deprived nations, believing for certain that they shall find a way and they shall be victorious.

I hope that God Almighty and His slaves will be content with them--may they be honored in both worlds and their names be mentioned in goodness in the world and by future generations. They can be sure that the world situation is changing fundamentally and today's world will not allow two world powers to do whatever they want or a number of people in countries to take the destiny of nations into their own hands. So, it is more advisable that the committed scholars and intellectuals become close to the nations before the general change takes place, take them into consideration and treat them in accordance with Koranic instructions and the traditions of the Prophet. In this way, they will attract attention to themselves in order to either completely eliminate or at least reduce this separation which has appeared between the intellectuals and the society and the poor and working masses of the society. Today, our people do not understand intellectual talk. The pains of the people must be expressed in the language of the people.

It is only at such a time that the people will support you and come out from under the miserable domination of the superpowers and their puppets. They shall be protected by the strong fortress of the words: There is no God but God. It is precisely in this way that all the Islamic nations will join their hands in brotherhood, will live an honorable life which is a hundred times more enjoyable than this distressing and unstable life, and will advance in their religion and world. That group of people who have been deceived by the propaganda of the East and the West and have become Easternized or Westernized are not fully aware of Islamic culture. Otherwise, they would come to the bosom of Islam with open arms. It is hoped that our intellectuals and those of all the Islamic countries will express for the people of the Islamic countries the sense of self-reliance and resistance, in simple language, and assurance that no one is inclined by nature to be dependent. We must try with all of our ability to make the people understand that it is possible to stand on our own feet. It is possible to defend our national Islamic culture and honor before the East and West. And we are able to defeat the material world and fly the flag of "There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet" over the whole world.



9. One of the issues that must receive more attention is the welfare of prisoners, including the groups that have risen in arms against the Islamic Republic and have spilled the blood of innocent people in the streets and alleys, those who have brought corruption to their country through the sale and distribution of narcotics and other sinners. They are now your captives and have been imprisoned by your own hands. Be kind to your prisoners, both these groups as well as the prisoners of war. Treat them like brothers and turn the prisons into educational and moral schools, as has been done so far, in order that the deviants and sinners may taste sweet Islamic justice, turn to Islam and the Islamic regime, truly repent and return to Islam and God Almighty, because mercy attracts sinners best. Even the person who deserves divine punishment, including punishment for murder and other punishments, must enjoy the kindness of the officials at the foot of the gallows and where he is punished.

The supreme judicial council and the follow-up headquarters must expedite the affairs of the prisoners and anyone who deserves to be pardoned should be reported immediately in order to be pardoned and to continue his free life, God willing, and become a useful and active member of his country.

Request to the Compatriots Abroad to Serve the Country and the Nation

10. I request that those compatriots abroad who are able to serve their country and help their oppressed nation, including the honorable physicians, experts in various fields and others, think a little about their nation which has suffered in the course of history and whose back has bent under the injustice of tyrants, that they see whether the awakening and noble Iranian conscience will allow them to sit outside their country, hearing false ideas, the fabricated propaganda of foreign radios and the press--who are all the enemies of your country and nation, and

only have their own and U.S. interests in mind and who want to throw the country to the United States like the tyrannical regime of the shah--and not to participate in their sorrow and suffering. What you hear abroad from the mass media is nothing but unfounded propaganda. Come and see first hand that your country and nation have regained their freedom and independence, have stopped the hands of the plunderers, have taken their destiny into their own hands, have totally freed themselves from political, military and cultural dependence and in economic areas as well, have advanced towards self-sufficiency.

Come and see the change which has appeared in all the strata. Come and witness the services which have been rendered during these few years to those people deprived throughout history and note that despite all the problems that the government and the

nation have faced, such as the revolution itself, its aftermath, the war which was started by the great and small powers, the conspiratorial and treasonous acts by internal groups and minigroups, the backbreaking pressures such as the economic embargo and the propaganda of the global mass media, the rush of the war refugees and the exiles of the Ba'th Party, and the Afghan refugees, they have been able to save this country from leaning either to the right or the left. Therefore, come and serve your country and pay your debt to your country. If you believe in Islam, see what today's manifestations of Islam are and what they were during the Pahlavi regime. If you are nationalists, see that today, Iran is the only country in the world which has stood up against the United States and the Soviet Union and is powerful and well known for it. For this reason, all the governments, powers and mass media are trying to prevent the spread of its fame. Come and see what the situation of Iran is today compared to that of the past regime, whose king was among the servants of the United States, when the nation had been made so dependent that it was in the claws of the United States, and what misfortune and shame we suffered. Of course, we are not addressing those who have deceived and robbed the people and who are now struggling in the cesspool of desires and corruption. We are addressing those noble persons who have not lost their human conscience.

#### Necessity of Preserving the Unity of the Word and the Responsibility of the Clerics in This Regard

11. What I would like to say to the honorable clerics and Friday and congregational imams is: You have always been the axis for the unity of the word among the people and, as you know, today more than ever before, we need the unity of the word. Today, when impure hands are actively creating disunity and are afraid of the nation's unity of the word, it is possible to influence the simple-minded people who know nothing of the revolution. You are the best stratum maintaining contact with this class. You are able to save them from those with evil intentions and the conspirators by enlightening them and telling them that they have made the revolution and liberated themselves from the bondage of the United States and other world devourers and the oppression of the Pahlavi regime. Now, keep your ears open to the poison spread by those with evil intentions and the continuous temptations of those dependent on the United States and others or disunity will, God forbid, appear among your close ranks and all your hard efforts as well as the pure blood of your martyrs will have been wasted and, once again, Islam, the Islamic countries and your future generations will be enslaved by foreigners and the enemies of Islam and the country and Islam, which has been revived by your powerful hand, will suffer an irreparable defeat for years and centuries to come and you will be responsible before and condemned by God and the future generations. I tell

the beloved nation and the Iranian masses of millions that no revolution has been realized or will be realized without martyrdom, self-sacrifice, hardship, high prices, and temporary material pressures. But, compared to other revolutions, no revolution has been less damaging and more fruitful than the Islamic revolution of Iran, because of its Islamic content, which pulled the Islamic masses behind it and then other compatriots, such as the religious minorities, came to the field and, thank God, they came to victory united, such a victory that has sent shock waves throughout the world. If nothing else, by making Islam an issue in the world and making the superpowers and oppressors lament, great glory has been gained for the beloved nations. Now, to preserve this glory, create patience and forbearance and work as hard as is necessary. Thank God, thus far, you have acted in accordance with your Islamic, nationalistic and patriotic duties properly and, God willing, you will continue to do so in the future. I tell that group of the educated intellectuals and scholars who do not suffer from the maladies of Westernization and Easternization and who would not sacrifice their Islamic, national and patriotic honor for the wishes of the powerful or for transient pleasures and desires to try to employ their pens and words for the exaltation of Islam and their country and nation, to unite the deprived masses with one voice and preserve the freedom which you have retrieved from the claws of the East and the West and not to stop at any effort in rendering this service, for few nations in the world have had this opportunity. May God grant us all the understanding of our duties.

12. We raise our sinful hands towards our forgiving God and humbly plead Him not to leave us to ourselves even for one moment and to cast His generous shadow over the Muslims of the world, particularly the Iranian nation. We know that without His blessing, we are unable to resist the criminals who have the world under their Satanic domination. It is Your protection that has preserved this country despite so much political, military, economic and propaganda pressure. Grant us the opportunity to continue down Your path, for You and Your oppressed slaves, and preserve us from transgressions.

Oh God, accept our martyrs who love You and place them among those near to You. Grant our martyrs the reward of the dawn of Islam and to our living martyrs who have advanced to the edge of martyrdom and have lost their health in defending Islam and Your oppressed slaves and restore to them their health. Oh God, return all our missing people to the loving and compassionate bosom of this nation and their beloved families as soon as possible.

Oh God, our prisoners are enslaved by the most criminal jailer of the time and their resistance has astonished the world. Liberate

them as soon as possible to serve You and Your slaves and grant their honorable families patience, reward and salvation. Grant the revered, noble nation of Iran salvation, health and blessings; grant the beloved combatants rapid victory; and grant all of us pure intentions.

Save us from Satan and the spirit of lasciviousness.

The endless salutations and greetings of God to the grand prophets, especially their most noble, the final one, and the people of God, among them, the Imam of the Age--may our spirits be sacrificed for him.

Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings.

Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeyni

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